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Further Reportage on Shevardnadze, Baker Meeting

Meeting 'Businesslike'

LD0703184189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1745 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna, 7 Mar (TASS)—The first official meeting between USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker has taken place here. Most of the conversation, which lasted more than 2 hours, was face-to-face. The two sides confirmed the continuity in the development of Soviet-U.S. political dialogue in the spirit of mutual understanding, reached during the conversations between Mikhail Gorbachev and President George Bush.

The plan of high-level political contacts was examined in principle.

Shevardnadze invited Baker to pay an official visit to the USSR. The invitation was accepted with gratitude. It has been provisionally agreed that the visit can take place during the first half of May 1989.

The ministers expressed satisfaction at the practice of broad and intensive exchange of opinions which had become developed and decided to extend the agenda of their meetings, adding to its traditional items the category of transnational questions—problems of ecology, the economy, the struggle against terrorism, and cooperation in checking the spread of narcotics, and others.

An understanding was reached whereby the various aspects of the processes occuring in the two countries would be examined within the framework of a working group engaged in bilateral relations and with the participation of scientists and specialists of the USSR and the United States.

The ministers discussed tasks in the field of security, and first and foremost those connected with the continuation of the talks on disarmament problems taking place between the USSR and the United States. Certain aspects of the talks on conventional armed forces and measures for strengthening trust and security in Europe, which have begun in Vienna, were also touched upon.

Certain regional problems—the situation in Central America, in Afghanistan, and prospects for a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict—were examined.

An exchange of opinions on humanitarian cooperation and human rights was also held.

The two sides described the talks as important, useful, and constructive.

The discussions took place in an open, businesslike atmosphere.

Shevardnadze 'Satisfied'

AU0703194989 Vienna Television Service in German 1830 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Interview with USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze by ORF reporter Otto Hoermann in Vienna on 7 March—recorded; Shevardnadze statement in Russian with sentence by sentence German translation by his interpreter]

[Text] Only several minutes before his departure from Vienna's Schwechat Airport, Shevardnadze once again patiently answered questions from the Austrian Radio and Television Service. He is satisfied with his talks with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, Shevardnadze said, adding that it was not merely a matter of getting to know one another but that the basic principles of relations have been established. Has the U.S. position under President Bush somehow changed?

[Shevardnadze] Today Mr Baker has reaffirmed that he will remain faithful to the principles of continuity. He did not only confirm this but he also outlined his main idea of how he understands these principles of continuity. We consent to it. As a final conclusion I would like to say—I already said this vis-a-vis the press—that I have got the impression that, as ministers, we will develop good cooperation, that things will work out alright.

Talks 'Good Beginning'

LD0803003289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 7 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by correspondent G. Zubkov in Vienna, introduced by commentator Oleg Dobrodeyev]

[Text] [Dobrodeyev] I think that this week can quite properly be described as European. Talks are beginning in Vienna on conventional armed forces and measures to strengthen trust and security in Europe. Diplomatic work is in full swing. The foreign ministers of 33 European countries, and also the United States and Canada, are discussing in the Austrian capital qualitatively new steps to reduce the military arsenals on the continent. A report by our special correspondent in Vienna.

[Zubkov] The meeting of the foreign ministers of 33 countries is continuing in the Hofburg Palace in the capital of Austria. [video shows external views of palace] It anticipates the new phase of European talks on conventional armed forces and also on measures to strengthen trust and security.

Naturally at this time Vienna has also become the forum for personal meetings and conversations between ministers. The meeting between our foreign minister, Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker attracted universal attention. [video shows Shevardnadze convoy, then Shevardnadze meeting Baker, shaking hands]. In the course of a 2-hour

conversation in private and then in an expanded session, a conceptual review of Soviet-American relations and prospects for the further development of dialogue between the two states was conducted. [video shows Baker and Shevardnadze seated on a settee, then at a negotiation table with their respective aides] A number of topical international problems was also considered in a specific light.

Appraising the meeting, Comrade Shevardnadze had this to say to us journalists: [video shows journalists and photographers to whom Shevardnadze speaks, with an interpreter at his side]

[Begin Shevardnadze recording] This is the first meeting, the first conversation. I think that it was very useful and productive. It passed in an atmosphere of good mutual understanding. I gained the impression that both sides are ready to cooperate in a spirit of continuity and adherence to those principles which were formulated recently at the talks between the highest leaders. I think that...[changes thought] my general impression is that there will be cooperation between us. Perhaps that is the most important conclusion. [end recording]

[Zubkov] Then James Baker spoke to the journalists. First, the secretary of state said that he would like to note that the conversation with Mr Shevardnadze was very interesting, and it passed in a genuinely friendly atmosphere. Reflected in this conversation was a desire for cooperation and joint work. The Soviet minister appraised our meeting as a good beginning, and I agree with this.

The correspondents of the major telegraphic agencies, and television and radio companies, right here in the yard in front of the U.S. ambassador's resident—this was where the meeting took place—began to prepare their reports. I am certain that in each of them, mention was made of the next meeting between the minister, in May in Moscow. The U.S. secretary of state received an official invitation to the USSR which he accepted with satisfaction. Soviet-American dialogue is actively proceeding. [video shows journalists squatting in yard of residence typing on their laps, labeling video boxes, packing video gear]

Chebrikov Meets Shevardnadze on Return to Moscow

LD0703175489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR foreign minister, returned to Moscow from Vienna today. He took part in the meeting of the foreign ministers of 33 European nations.

At the airport, Comrade Shevardnadze was welcomed by Comrade Chebrikov and other officials.

Before leaving Moscow [as heard], Comrade Shevardnadze had his first official meeting with Baker, the U.S. secretary of state. They reviewed the main problems of bilateral relations. Comrade Shevardnadze invited the U.S. secertary of state on an official visit to the USSR in the 1st half of May this year.

U.S., UK Approach to Vienna Talks Questioned

PM0803092189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Mar 89 p 1

[Own correspondent Yu. Popov report on interview with USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze under the rubric "Question for the Minister": "Vienna. March"]

[Text] Vienna, Mar 7—After meeting with FRG Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher, Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, who is in Vienna, gave an interview to this KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent.

Answering a question about his impressions after the first working day of the Vienna talks, E.A. Shevardnadze said: "The ministers' speeches contained a number of interesting ideas. To judge by the speeches of the U.S. and British representatives, different approaches are also evident, considerably different approaches. But that is natural for the start of any talks, and here, of course, we should not dramatize matters. A dialogue is under way, and that is the main thing.

"We have already discussed certain issues with British Foreign Secretary G. Howe and FRG Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher. A meeting with U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker is scheduled. I think that after this the positions of the sides will be clearer. But, I repeat, this is just the beginning. As to the statements by the British and U.S. representatives at the opening of the new talks, they contain positive elements and elements that we find unacceptable."

E.A. Shevardnadze noted that it is hard as yet to talk about specific timetables and results for the talks. It took more than 2 years to coordinate the mandate for the Vienna meeting of CSCE representatives. The talks on conventional arms in central Europe lasted 15 years and still ended fruitless. So there is bitter experience, but there is positive experience too. It is well-known that it was difficult to reach agreement on the final document of the Vienna CSCE meeting. It was a very complex and sometimes even dramatic process. After all, the discussion was about real armed forces and arms talks. That is a highly sensitive issue for any country. That is why it would be premature to specify any timetable now. But, in any event, we must struggle for success. The overall political atmosphere now is conducive to this.

"We advocated an all-European summit," E.A. Shevardnadze said. "At some point this will become possible and even necessary. It is quite probable that more than one summit could be held. And, needless to say, regular

consultations would be needed at the foreign minister level. If agreement in principle is reached on this, Vienna could be a suitable venue for such a summit."

The USSR foreign minister stressed that disarmament issues will be the main subject of the upcoming official visits to London, Paris, and Bonn by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Baker Faulted for 'Traditional Stereotypes'
PM0803111189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Mar 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "For a Constructive Discussion"]

[Text] Vienna, 7 Mar—The eyes of millions of people are fixed on the Hofburg Palace in the Austrian capital, where the 3-day meeting of foreign ministers of 33 European states and the United States and Canada is taking place, opening the talks on conventional armed forces in Europe and the talks on confidence-building and security measures. The peoples are expecting a serious, constructive discussion of the future of the European peace process, resulting in a reduction of military confrontation and qualitatively new steps to reduce military arsenals in Europe.

This idea ran through the speeches by many participants of the Vienna forum. Never before, GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer said, have conditions for the disarmament process been as favorable as they are at the moment. The Soviet-American treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and the Warsaw Pact states' unilateral reduction of their armed forces and armaments show that it is possible to solve the most complex problems of safeguarding European security. The progress achieved in disarmament in one area, he continued, must not be cancelled out by a qualitative and quantitative buildup of armaments in other spheres.

"Europe's New Horizons" is what U.S. Secretary of State James Baker called his speech at the meeting. Beginning with an analysis of postwar realities, which split the continent into two opposing camps, he sought to show how the current state of affairs in Europe is changing under the influence of objective circumstances. While calling the Soviet Union's reduction of its armed forces and armaments a "very good and promising start," he did darken the clouds on the European horizon by acknowledging traditional stereotypes in relation to the Warsaw Pact states and existing imbalances in the conventional arms sphere.

Bulgarian Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov called for the abandonment of fruitless debates over numbers, which can only drag out the Vienna talks. In his view, the model of strategic stability in Europe must be based on the premise that states are not opponents, irrespective of different ideologies. Noting that the current Vienna forums are taking place in a favorable atmosphere, the minister stressed that the improvement of the climate of international relations is the result of new political thinking.

The meeting of foreign ministers is continuing.

Extension of Confidence-Building Measures Sought
LD0703200489 Moscow World Service in English 1510 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] On Thursday, two series of talks open in Vienna which may be crucial to the future of Europe and the world at large. One will focus on the ways to reduce conventional arms and troops in Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals; the other will discuss further security- and confidence-building measures on the continent. For comment on the latter series, we've turned to General Nikolay Chervov, a senior official of the Soviet Armed Forces General Staff.

General Chervov says the talks follow up the Stockholm conference on security- and confidence-building measures in Europe. The conference was a success and produced a document which has been working well ever since. For the past 2 years or so, neither side could complain of the other side creating a threat of war. However, the document is largely confined to the exercises and movements of ground troops. For instance, the signatories notify each other of exercises if they involve more than 13,000 troops or at least 300 tanks. While the armies are under strict control, there are no confidence-building provisions for naval or air forces. This is one of the drawbacks of the Stockholm decisions. Today war could also break out among the navies, which have enormous nuclear, as well as conventional, potentials. Therefore, the Soviet Union would like the new Vienna talks to help extend the confidence-building measures to the naval and air forces.

General Chervov goes on to say that regrettably the confidence-building measures do not apply to the territory of the United States. That doesn't seem quite fair. Those measures must extend to the territories of both Canada and the United States, which are full-scale participants in the talks and active members of NATO. That is another Soviet priority at the talks.

Vienna Talks Have 'Every Chance of Success'
LD0603201389 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] In Vienna the foreign ministers of 33 European countries, the United States, and Canada have gathered for a 3-day conference opening negotiations on conventional forces in Europe and on confidence- and security-building measures. We shall be giving extensive coverage of this event. Meanwhile, this is how Radio Moscow's commentator Yuriy Solton sees the forthcoming negotiations.

[Solton] The talks are going to be rather complicated, especially those on a reduction in conventional arms and armed forces in Europe, where the armies of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization total 3 million men each. It would make little sense to try to find out who is to blame for the high degree of militarization of Europe, however, it's clear that mutual mistrust and unjustified suspicion played a major role. The Soviet Union expected aggression from the West and built up a major tank potential. NATO, in turn, concentrated offensive units, including strike aircraft, in forward deployment areas.

This is a time to stop to think, to inquire into the real state of affairs without any juggling with statistics and to start reductions. These reductions should not violate the principle of equal security. They should guarantee military parity between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, leaving both alliances only those forces they might need to defend themselves. The Warsaw Treaty countries are prepared for this. On the eve of the Vienna talks they announced major unilateral reductions of personnel, tanks, aircraft, artillery pieces, and even tactical nuclear systems. The NATO Council, at the beginning of last December, pointed at the importance of achieving a lasting and stable balance of forces at lower levels between the 23 member countries of the two military blocs in Europe.

At the same time, some NATO officials have warned against taking too literally what the Russians have been saying. They called for avoiding any dramatic arms reductions and for accepting restrictions only on individual types of arms.

Negotiations will soon show how strong this sentiment is, but it's clear already now that there is every chance of success. The Soviet Union pins great hopes on the Vienna talks. As he was about to leave for the Austrian capital, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said it was quite feasible to resolve current problems within reasonable time limits, namely to ease the burden of the most costly conventional arms on the Warsaw Treaty and NATO and to give a new dimension to security and trust in Europe. This in turn would strengthen the groundwork of a future common European home.

Security Requires 'Excluding Mutual Threats'

LD0703171189 Moscow TASS in English 1517 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 7 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev:

The Vienna meeting of the foreign ministers of 33 European countries, the United States and Canada has heard summaries of the positions of nations and military-political alliances at talks on conventional armed forces in Europe and negotiations on confidence- and security-building measures in the Austrian capital.

Comparing the Warsaw Treaty's stand, presented by Eduard Shevardnadze, and NATO's stand, summarised by Geoffrey Howe, it is important to stress common ground: Both sides consider it imperative to lower the level of military confrontation in Europe and eliminate the potential for mounting a surprise attack and launching large-scale offensive operations.

This is the basis of serious and productive work at the talks to achieve mutually acceptable practical results.

But the sides' positions also show very significant differences spelling serious difficulties for the negotiators in Vienna.

First, the Warsaw Treaty proposals envisage deep cuts in personnel, while NATO leaves this important component of armed forces outside projected reductions.

Second, the NATO countries artificially limit the range of destabilising arms to be scaled down as a matter of priority.

Whereas the Warsaw Treaty thinks it expedient to concentrate on cutting frontline (tactical) strike aircraft, tanks, combat helicopters, armoured infantry fighting vehicles and armoured personnel carriers, and artillery, including multiple launch rocket systems and mortars, NATO suggests initially reducing just tanks, artillery and armoured personnel carriers, while bypassing the issue of aircraft and combat helicopters which are one area in which it has a sizable advantage.

With this kind of approach, how is it possible to talk about really eliminating imbalances and asymmetries and enhancing stability on the continent?

I think that it is clear even to a layman in military matters that mutual trust and, consequently, stability can hardly grow stronger, and will most likely decrease, if such methods are used.

Third, the NATO proposals say nothing of the important proposal to create a zone of reduced arms levels along the line of contact between the military-political alliances.

Is it possible to eliminate potential for a surprise attack and large-scale offensive operations if one ignores the need to establish such a zone and keeps to the "forward basing" concept?

In this situation either side will continue fearing that the other might be preparing for a surprise attack.

This is why the Warsay Treaty proposes removing, reducing or limiting the more dangerous destabilising kinds of weaponry and equipment in the zone and curbing military activity there.

Finally, there is a fundamental difference in the approaches of the military-political alliances to strengthening stability in how far their proposals go in covering armed forces and armaments.

The arms race cannot be stopped by selective reductions. This is why confidence- and security-building measures must cover not only Europe but also the adjoining seas and airspace.

The adoption of a purely defensive structure for land forces will further increase the role of naval forces as a destabilising offensive element. Consequently, it should be clearly realised how the naval factor will shape the nature of future Vienna accords.

This is another reminder of the need to include naval armaments in the context of confidence-building measures and of the expediency of opening separate talks on these armaments.

To take all security components on the continent more fully into account, separate talks ought to be started as soon as possible, also on the reduction and complete elimination of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe.

The differences in the sides' positions certainly can be ironed out. It only takes political will to advance to a safer Europe. All that is needed is to abandon hackneyed claims about a need to strengthen military power and "position-of-strength" policies, claims which have recently resurfaced, in obvious contrast to the Vienna spirit, in a speech by U.S. President George Bush at a conference of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.

Only by excluding mutual threats will it be possible to achieve security.

Official on Pact Position for Talks in Vienna

AU0303165489 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian No 9, 1 Mar 89 p 8

[Report on telephone interview with Major General Viktor Mikhaylovich Tatarnikov, "representative of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union," in Moscow, by BTA correspondent Atanas Natev in Brussels: "From the Atlantic to the Urals"—date not given]

[Text] Some readers may ask why precisely we tried to establish the Warsaw Pact's position in Moscow. The first reason is that, as is well-known, the Soviet troops and arms form the backbone of the military-political alliance of the socialist countries in Europe. The second reason is that it was the new political thinking put forward by Moscow that, we hope, will continue to be the main source of ideas on disarmament. As the third reason, we would point out that on 30 January the defense ministers of the Warsaw Pact states, in their declaration concerning the unilateral troop cuts, proved yet again their unanimity and mutual understanding. So, to our telephone call to Moscow. We talk to General Tatarnikov.

[Natev] What is the position of the Warsaw Pact states before the talks start?

[Tatarnikov] Our position was established way back in June 1986, at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Budapest. The committee's sessions in Berlin (May 1987) and Warsaw (July 1988) confirmed this position. It also stems from the independent initiatives of individual Warsaw Pact members. In brief, the program we propose is the following:

In the first stage, we would define and eliminate the imbalances between the armaments of the Warsaw Pact and NATO, starting with the strike units, which exert a destabilizing effect. These include the tactical air forces, tanks, ground combat equipment, strike helicopters, artillery, and so on. In the second stage, we would mutually and simultaneously reduce the Warsaw Pact and NATO troops by 500,000 men, and at the third stage we would continue to make cuts until we reach a level of reasonable sufficiency and give a defensive character to the troops of the two alliances. In carrying this out, a deadline might be set for the negotiations for completing each stage, in order to prevent the talks dragging on interminably and, even more important, in order to obtain the first results within 2-3 years. Let me stress once again: The reductions must be simultaneous and mutual, and must not impair the security of either side.

[Natev] What do you expect from the talks?

[Tatarnikov] First and foremost, the achievement of the aims set by the participants themselves. In other words, we have jointly resolved to achieve stability and security in Europe and to establish a safe balance of forces at a lower level. It is now important to see how the negotiations will be conducted by each side, to avoid the familiar trick of "who can last out the longest." It is likely that the two sides will map out guidelines at the initial stage, such as, for example, the categories of the arms to be reduced, the methods for comparing them, the procedure for exchanging information, ceilings for the cuts, and so on. After we have agreed on these issues of principle, work will start on drafting the first package of agreements on eliminating the imbalances. Difficulties are emerging even now in this respect. The NATO countries want to start with cuts in tanks and artillery alone, and the Warsaw Pact has superiority in these weapons. At the same time, NATO has superiority in strike aircraft, combat helicopters, and antitank weapons. Cuts should be made simultaneously in both of these groups of weapons. Remember the word "simultaneously"—this is the only fair approach.

[Natev] What might help the course of the negotiations?

[Tatarnikov] Success is only possible if both sides strive to reach a mutually acceptable solution. In addition, I would like to point out the unilateral reduction of the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact states. This is of undoubted benefit for the good development of the talks. The restructuring of our armed forces on purely defensive principles should also increase the other side's trust. Finally, in my view the decision of the Warsaw Pact states to publish figures on the correlation of the troop strengths and armaments of the two blocs in Europe and the adjoining waters is an unprecedented step for creating favorable conditions at the start of the talks. Let me give an example: One can see from the tables that NATO has a great superiority in naval forces and deck-based naval aircraft, which are capable of striking ground targets in all the European countries. If the Western countries follow us by taking steps to eliminate the imbalances, this will be a demonstration of good sense and will indubitably assist the progress of the talks.

[Natev] What would hinder the talks?

[Tatarnikov] The end goal of the talks would be placed at risk if a situation was created in which the NATO countries only counted on unilateral cuts in the Warsaw Pact armed forces. I have already mentioned the demands that the first stage of the talks should only examine the figures for tanks and artillery. Such an approach may lead us into an impasse. In the final analysis, we have to think about the security of the Warsaw Pact states. Do you have any more questions?

NATO 'Concept' for Arms Talks Questioned

PM0303163589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Mar 89 First Edition p 3

[Commentary by Vladimir Chernyshev, TASS observer for military issues: "'New' Concept, Old Doctrine"]

[Text] According to a report in the British newspaper THE TIMES, the North Atlantic alliance is continuing its elaboration of an "all-embracing concept" for arms control and disarmament issues.

There is no doubt that the creation and affirmation of such a concept at the highest level should be welcomed, as the existence of an extensive, long-term plan for progress toward a world where weapons would be kept at the minimum level necessary for defense would provide an opportunity to effectively and purposefully resolve these issues at bilateral and multilateral talks on the reduction and limitation of arms and armed forces.

The Warsaw Pact states have already elaborated an all-embracing plan to achieve a non-nuclear, non-violent world, which is formulated in a whole series of Warsaw Pact documents, including the military doctrine of the allied countries.

So, will the "all-embracing concept" currently being elaborated by NATO be as extensive and consistent? It is difficult at present to answer this important question in the affirmative.

Serious differences have arisen in the NATO camp over the question of modernizing tactical nuclear weapons, and the main initiators of this modernization are the United States and Britain. One would think that there could be only one opinion on this issue: The modernization of nuclear missiles represents a step back rather than a step forward.

Also very serious is the question of staying with the ABM Treaty and observing it in full for the agreed period. Without this pledge, there can hardly be any hope of concluding a Soviet-U.S. agreement on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons.

It is clear from the above just how closely military doctrine and military-strategic concepts are interwoven with the "all-embracing concept" of arms control and disarmament. It is hardly going to be possible to evolve an effective, realistic plan of progress toward security if obsolete doctrines and strategies are left untouched.

'Reciprocal Steps' On Disarmament Sought

LD0203203189 Moscow TASS in English 1840 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 2 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Yevgeniy Babenko:

A report of the London-based PRESS ASSOCIATION says that, as it turned out, a greater number of nuclear-powered submarines of the British Navy are patrolling the strategically important area of the Barents Sea close to the Soviet Union.

Those who provided this information for the news agency explain this increase by a "sharp reduction" of a number of Soviet submarines patrolling areas outside Soviet territorial waters. If they do not come to us, we have to go to them, the news agency quotes a prominent Western strategist as saying.

We have not been checking if the number of runs of Soviet submarines decreased. The main thing is the logic, or, to be more precise, lack of logic of the authors of this information.

Let us cite official data of the Soviet side. In order to lower the level of military confrontation between the blocs to ensure stability in accordance with the principle of reasonable sufficiency for defence, the Warsaw Treaty member countries now take measures for unilateral reduction of armed forces, equipment, defence budgets and volumes of war-industry production. In all the Warsaw Treaty countries this process begins slowly,

unrelated to the upcoming talks or their course. The USSR will reduce its armed forces by 12 per cent. Its forces in the European part will be reduced by 240,000 men.

If the logic of Western strategies is applied to this, several hundred thousand NATO officers and men and corresponding military equipment should be brought into territories of Western countries adjoining European countries with unilateral measures for disarmament.

For about 40 years the North Atlantic alliance has been justifying its existence and constant build-up of the military potential by "war danger from the East." And now it turns out that there is no "Red danger" at all. What is more, the Warsaw Treaty unconditionally, voluntarily and unilaterally reduces its armed forces and equipment.

The real peaceful initiatives of the Warsaw Treaty countries have a positive effect on the public opinion in the West. The "enemy image" is being eroded. The recent poll of the FRG population showed that for Western Germans the problem of protection against external danger holds the last place among the problems enumerated in the list. In other words, they no longer believe that they are about to face a "communist attack."

We are not overly optimistic and we have no euphoria over practical steps toward the lowering of the level of military confrontation in Europe which is advantageous and necessary for all the parties. But we have a right to expect reciprocal steps. What is more, the faulty logic in these conditions can hardly bring dividends to those who are guided by it.

Baker CW Statement Could Have Gone Further

LD0703192189 Moscow TASS in English 1905 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 7 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev:

The U.S. television network ABC described a statement of U.S. Secretary of State James Baker on chemical weapons, delivered in Vienna, as his own surprise and even a small victory in the effort to win over public opinion.

The surprise, naturally, could have been more striking, and the impact on world public opinion could have been, accordingly, much larger if the United States, for instance, following the Soviet Union, announced the termination of the production of all kinds of chemical weapons or the beginning of their destruction. But even a statement by an official representative of the USA about the readiness to consider the question of the withdrawal of chemical weapons from the FRG territory earlier than the initial deadline (1992) should, apparently, be viewed in a positive light. It was obviously not easy for the current U.S. Administration to come up with this decision.

There was a time when the U.S. Congress refused to appropriate funds for the creation of chemical weapons until West European governments asked Washington to deploy new binary ammunition on their territory. But European NATO countries were persistent and have not come out with such requests. In the end the U.S. Congress still appropriated funds for preparation for chemical warfare.

The question of coordinating with allies U.S. plans to deploy binary chemical ammunition in Western Europe instead of previous warfare toxic agents is not yet absolutely clear, even though the Washington representatives quite often make unofficial contradictory statements to this effect.

Some years ago, Alfred Dregger, leader of the CDU/CSU [Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union] group in the West German Bundestag, gladdened his compatriots when he announced that the Pentagon's chief promised to him that binary weapons will not be deployed in the FRG. However, Casper Weinberger, the then U.S. secretary of defence, did not take the trouble to make a telephone call to Dregger to inform him that "he had taken it in the wrong way".

U.S. generals declare to this day that it is pointless to keep chemical weapons in the USA, that is at a large distance from any potential theatre of operations, and insist that they be stored in the FRG and other NATO countries. Former Supreme Allied Commander Europe, U.S. General Bernard Rogers admitted that U.S. chemical weapons are made for purposeful use in the European territory. The present Allies Supreme Commander Europe John Galvin constantly emphasises the importance of U.S. chemical weapons for Western Europe's defence.

There are reports that the production of warfare toxic agents is being stepped up in the USA, that immediately after the decisions of the Paris conference to speed up the drafting of an agreement on a comprehensive ban on warfare toxic agents the U.S. Congress appropriated more funds for the preparation of chemical warfare. These reports cannot but cause concern.

U.S. Response to CW Proposals Criticized

PM0603163589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[L. Gudoshnikov response to reader's letter under general heading: "Dialogue. We Answer Readers' Questions"; first paragraph is reader's query]

[Text]

It's Up To Washington

At a conference at the beginning of the year almost 150 countries branded chemical weapons and signed a statement saying these weapons must be eliminated. When will this become a reality?

V. Korzanov, Gorkiy.

The latest session of the disarmament conference began recently in Geneva. On the agenda among other questions was the elaboration of a draft international convention providing for the complete and universal banning of the production, development, ownership, acquisition, transfer, and, of course, use of chemical weapons. V.P. Karpov, USSR deputy foreign minister, stated that approximately 80-85 percent of the text of the convention has been agreed. What is preventing its completion?

The Soviet Union's proposals are well-known. Let us see what baggage the U.S. delegation took to Geneva and how it is responding to Moscow's initiatives.

At present the U.S. "proposal basket" is virtually empty. It only contains a booklet comprising many official statements that "chemical weapons are terrible" and must be banned. There is still no answer as to how to do this. Admittedly, the United States gave Moscow a feeble round of applause in connection with the construction in the USSR of a plant for the destruction of chemical agents and also assurances that the new administration sees one of the main tasks as being to achieve the complete banning of both chemical and bacteriological weapons. But how are these assurances backed up? General Burns, the new director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, made the following statement in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee: "There's been too little time for the new administration to submit new initiatives." The routine accusations against the USSR have begun to be heard once again. For instance, "intelligence sources" in London claim that the "Soviets" have six times as many chemical weapons stocks as they have declared. General J. Galvin, NATO supreme allied commander Europe, echoes them, voicing doubts about the authenticity of the information presented by the USSR.

All these speeches were, I think, necessary in order to deaden the noise of the operation at the chemical plant in Pine Bluff (Arkansas), where binary munitions have been in production nonstop for 14 months now. The PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER reports that the United States is now accumulating hundreds of thousands of artillery shells carrying chemical agents with a neuroparalytic effect. Official data is restricted, but according to specialists 1.2 million of these munitions will be manufactured under this program. The Pentagon is actively developing warheads bristling with chemical agents for tactical and cruise missiles with a range of up to 1,600 km, and in 1990 it plans to test a new multicharge system with chemical warheads.

All this squares badly with U.S. President G. Bush's assurances that he will do away with chemical weapons. We would like to hope that the U.S Administration will overcome these contradictions and will back up its promises with concrete steps aimed at concluding a convention on the complete banning and elimination of chemical weapons.

Residents Concerned About CW Destruction Plant
LD0603183489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 6 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; from the foreign news section presented by international affairs commentator Yevgeniy Kisilev]

[text] Good evening, comrades. I want to start the international section of the program with a report filmed in our country. As already announced, the Soviet Union this year will begin to destroy its chemical weapons. And for this purpose a special enterprise is being built in our country in the region of the city of Chapayevsk. A "Vremya" film crew has visited there.

[Begin recording] [correspondent P. Orlov, identified by caption] [video shows soldier opening metal gates to reveal enterprise, protected by a further perimeter fence] The chemical munitions will be delivered here to be destroyed. And not munitions which are obsolete or damaged, but those which would have remained in service if we had not agreed to this step—shells and bombs already without firing mechanisms but containing combat toxic agents.

The railway tracks, along which the munitions designated for destruction will be taken to the warehouse, are to be found behind these walls. These walls, which are made of concrete blocks, can withstand direct fire from autmatic weapons. Our camera has probably never studied any works as thoroughly as this one. The store of chemical reagents and decontaminators and all lines of communication are visible so that there is constant monitoring and elimination of any faults. The ground here is covered with special tiles.

Nothing should get into the soil in any circumstances, Colonel Solovyev, the head of the installation explains. The whole works will work on a closed cycle. The power feed system here is their own, with three backup systems. The air for the workshops where the charges will be removed from the munitions one by one in strict order, and where the chemical core will be neutralized will come only from other workshops so that there are no discharges from here. [video shows workshops with a large number of pipes and some cisterns]

There is a pneumatic relay so that samples from the destruction workshop can be delivered without human involvement to the special laboratory which has been created at the enterprise.

[I.B. Yevstafyev, head of the Chemical Troops Administration, identified by caption] The personnel there who check over the totality of the destruction are higly professional. An international verification block is also envisaged. If required, there is also a supply from those points of samples for international verification of the process of destruction of chemical weapons.

[Orlov] Here is the first conveyor where people will not be creating but destroying. But it was not just our film crew that was able to see it. For the first time ever, a works for the destruction of chemical munitions has been shown to representatives of the public of the city which lies adjacent to the works. [video shows civilians and uniformed people in workshop]

But first of all there was a meeting at the headquarters. Overcome with grief at the uncontrolled chemical discharge from other departments in their city, the citizens of Chapayevsk were up in arms at the news that the military was building a works of their own a dozen kilometers away. It was easier with the English at Shekeni, one officer recalled: There was diplomatic restraint there, but here there is open mistrust and sharp questions which hit at the very heart of the matter. [video shows lecture room]

[Unidentified civilian] I am the chairman of the collective labor council at the Chapayevsk chemical fertilizer works, and I am not disinterested in how this (?installation) will go into operation, in what condition.

[Yevstafyev] Comrades, I ask you earnestly...we entirely agree and consider it right to include representatives of the party and state authorities of the city of Chapayevsk and representatives of the public in the composition of the state commission for acceptance into service of the installation. And this means familiarization with all the documentation, familiarization with the entire process, familiarization with all the materials without exception....

[Orlov] With the line-up....

[Yevstafyev] Yes, with the line-up of people....

[Unidentified woman] Who we trust?

[Yevstafyev] People who you trust!

[Orlov] This is the conversation which came about. The construction of the plant for the destruction of chemical weapons is ending. And we, in leaving, knew we would return here when it starts fulfilling its humanitarian mission. And that will be very soon.

*** U.S. Accused of Bacteriological Warfare Research**
WA18070545 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 3 Mar 89 p 3

[Article by Konstantin Mezentsev: "No to Dangerous Preparations"]

[Text] ...A cruise missile secretly makes it close to the enemy territory. Its warhead explodes not far from a populous center. A small white cloud rises above the location of the explosion and quickly dissipates as it is carried away by the wind. Several days later, the entire population of nearby cities and villages is infected with Siberian ulcer, denge fever, typhoid fever, and cholera. The pandemia spreads in a geometric progression. In view of tremendous losses in people, the enemy capitulates....

This is not a script of some science fiction thriller movie. Most likely, this is how Pentagon plans for the conduct of bacteriological war look.

I recalled this recently after I read in late February a report from the U.S. on a protest by the citizens of the city of Amherst against research work by the University of Massachusetts on studying the virus of a most dangerous disease, the Siberian ulcer.

Reports on this topic keep appearing in the world press. It is no secret that the U.S. military spends about $300 million annually to prepare for a biological war. It is sad, but it is fact. State-of-the-art accomplishments in genetic engineering and biotechnology are put through their first trials in top-secret research centers not far from Salt Lake City, Utah and at six other similar bases. Civilian universities also work for the program of "biological armament," with financing for such work coming from none other than the Pentagon.

All of these facts are bewildering. After all, the U.S., the USSR, and 120 other countries have signed the 1972 convention which prohibits the development, production, and stockpiling of this most inhumane of armaments, if the word "humane" can be applied to armaments at all. However, there are several loopholes in this international legal document for those possessed by the urge to commit mass murder. It is understandable that protection from bullets given by a bulletproof vest can only be tested with a bullet. "Small bullets" of this kind visible only through the most powerful electron microscopes are developed in the secret laboratories, which is not directly forbidden by the convention. As far as the use of the "small bullets" is concerned, variations are possible....

This is exactly why protest meetings and demonstrations flare up in the U.S. and other Western countries where preparations endangering the life of the people are conducted. The issue of inspections and reliable control of the production and proliferation of biological weapons is discussed in authoritative international forums.

People in many countries are beginning to understand that glasnost, openness, and an exchange of information on the nature of the biological research conducted can prevent a new round of the arms race. This will make our life safer, and peace in the world more secure.

*** Effort To Cut U.S. Forces in Europe Applauded**
WA18070540b Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian2 Mar 89 p 1

[Article by Grigoriy Oganov, political observer: "The First Swallow?"]

[Text] At the turning point between winter and spring, at the end of February, THE WASHINGTON POST reported some unusual news: Two congressmen, representatives of competing parties, having joined forces, announced that they were introducing a joint amendment which, all things considered, would be a response to the recent Soviet peace initiative. These two people are a "liberal Democrat" and a "conservative Republican from the House Armed Forces Committee" (this is how the author of the newspaper article describes them). Their names are P. Schroeder and E. Ireland. They dared to throw down the gauntlet to the tradition of American legislators.

This is the way THE WASHINGTON POST describes their amendment, which would hardly have been possible a couple of years ago, not to mention during the "cold war" years; this amendment "which breaks the line that has existed since the end of World War II against efforts undertaken by Congress to reduce U.S. Armed Forces in Europe."

Such efforts, as the respectable Washington newspaper attests, although they were undertaken by various people, even figures with a great deal of authority in the political world of the United States, regardless of this and regardless of the sincerity and persistence of the congressmen, have been doomed to failure.

Why? The newspaper does not give a very clear answer to this question. The foggy recollection of some hostile front established against any attempts to reduce the number of American forces, which are absolutely unnecessary in Europe since the end of the fight against fascism, does not explain the persistence of certain secret forces that for so many years have opposed even the slightest move in the direction of detente.

For the sake of fairness we must admit that our steadfast position during those years, which was completely oriented toward rebuffing the insidious intentions of American imperialism, contributed little to such moves.

One thing is clear: The era that began in 1985—which was marked in the sphere of international politics by the landmarks of Geneva, Reykjavik, and the historic Soviet-American agreement on intermediate- and short-range missiles, an era which brought to mankind the fresh air of new thinking and a legitimate hope of the removal of the Damoclean sword of nuclear catastrophe—certainly did not meet with only grateful applause in the Western world; there was also active, irritated rejection.

Yes, of course, most of the people in Western countries were only gladdened by the bold Soviet peace initiatives, which included unilateral ones; that is, they had absolutely no selfish motivation. But a considerable narrower segment of the Western, particularly American, society, tending toward the so-called right, who also have their economic interests firmly tied to the military-industrial complex, did and do have their own ideas.

Otherwise, why was it necessary for the congressmen to announce that during that week they would begin a campaign for the reduction of American armed forces in Europe by 25,000, the very ones who service the missiles that are to be destroyed in keeping with the SALT agreement? Is this movement not natural—for personnel servicing the Pershing and winged missiles will join the unemployment lines if the conditions of the Soviet-American agreement are observed, as is customary in a civilized society?

But here the two congressmen are anticipating a serious political battle for the adoption of their amendment to the draft law concerning military allocations for the 1990 fiscal year. The Pentagon is frightened to death of cuts in allocations intended for it....

But the congressmen still have hopes of success. First, in Congress voices have long been heard concerning the huge budget deficit which is caused mainly by the monstrously increasing military expenditures. Second, there is the growing understanding that sooner or later the George Bush administration will have to answer M. S. Gorbachev's straight-forward peace proposals. Their goal—and THE WASHINGTON POST emphasizes this—is to put an end to the "cold war."

Thus, the initiative of the two American congressmen can be regarded as the first swallow which, although it will not make spring come, is the first sign of the gradual thaw.

We shall have to wait and see....

Defensive-Offensive Weapons Distinction Discussed
LD0303203589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1445 GMT 3 Mar 89

["International Situation—Questions and Answers" program presented by Sergey Pravdin, All-Union Radio foreign political commentator, with "my colleagues" Vladimir Pasko, Nikolay Agayants, Stanislav Blazhenkov, and Yuriy Igayev]

[Excerpt] [Pravdin] Greetings, esteemed comrades. I would like to start our meeting today with letters connected with the opening next week in Vienna of talks

between the Warsaw Pact and NATO on reducing armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. This reduction over such a vast area is to be discussed for the first time. In parallel in Vienna there will be talks on measures to increase trust and security in Europe. Neutral and nonaligned states will also take part in them; in other words, all 35 countries which participated in the European Conference. Those who have been following this problem know that the path to agreement on this was not simple. But here too, new political thinking and the course of making maximum use of political opportunities to remove international tension and achieving mutual understanding with the West, untying very complicated knots of international contradictions by means of dialogue, and talks on seeking reasonable compromises have produced practical results. The military disarmament dimension of the European process is being developed.

On the eve of the talks, as you know, the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee made a statement which, proceeding from the defensive doctrine of the alliance, set out its view on the aims of the upcoming dialogue. It also gave figures on the numbers of the armed forces and the quantity of the main types of the alliance's weaponry, and assessed the NATO armed forces in Europe and the adjacent seas. All of this has provided food for thought for many of our listeners, too.

I would like to start with a letter from Sergey Ustinovich Nuzhnoy, an inhabitant of the town of Morozovsk, Rostov Oblast. The letter writer is 91 years old; he took part in two wars, and from the viewpoint of his experience he expresses his ideas about the line we have adopted in the disarmament sphere. Before the war we were also told that we had the wherewithall to rebuff any aggressors, but I remember what sort of rebuff we gave in 1941, and I expect others remember, too. In my opinion, Sergey Ustinovich continues, there is no difference between defensive and offensive weapons; both can serve for defense; and the more weapons there are, the stronger the defense is. The writer's position is clear. I shall ask my collegue Vladimir Pasko to reply to him.

[Pasko] The past war and its lessons will undoubtedly always remain in our memory. But we must see the differences which characterize our current situation and the situation in the world as a whole. What would I like to pay attention to in this connection? First of all, to the approximate parity which now exists between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. The data published by the Warsaw Pact countries on 30 January on the correlation of forces of the two blocs documents their approximate equality. It does not give any country the opportunity to count on a decisive military advantage.

[Pravdin] However, I would like to remark that the NATO countries are continuing to repeat their view of an imaginary overwhelming military superiority over them on the part of the Warsaw Pact countries and the alleged existence of a Soviet threat. Moreover, the NATO countries give a biased interpretation of the correlation of forces of both sides obviously intending not to take into account some very important components in this matter. For example, such things as the navy and strike tactical aviation, where the Western countries have a strong advantage. The data of the Warsaw Pact countries refutes this, does it not?

[Pasko] It is true, but the facts show something else, too. The battle for military supremacy which has been continuing throughout the whole post war period has led to such a concentration of military force and arms that it threatens stability in Europe. The NATO countries also recognize this fact. Precisely for this reason, it has become possible to hold the talks which are opening in Vienna and whose aim is first to reduce armed forces and second to elaborate measures to strengthen trust in the military sphere. In my opinion, points of contact are shaping up today between the countries of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Both in the countries of the Warsaw Pact and in those of NATO the opinion is being expressed, for example, that offensive weapons have to be reduced and then removed from forward positions in order to reduce the threat of conflict breaking out.

Sergey Ustinovich is not absolutely correct when he says that there is no difference between offensive and defensive weapons. Take aircraft: As we know, all wars have started with action by aircraft. But there are different kinds of air forces. There are air forces that are purely offensive, designed to strike at ground and sea targets; and there are defensive air forces, too, which are intended only for action against air targets—which are antiaircraft defense means. Tanks are considered to be a universal weapon. They can be used both in attack and in defense. But antitank weapons are a purely defensive means. The prime objective of the Vienna talks is indeed to eliminate inequality in those types of weapons which have sudden attack capability—those like strike aircraft, tanks, combat helicopters, heavy calibre artillery, and so on.

We have these weapons, and they have them, too. The proportions, however, differ. In particular NATO has more strike aircraft, more combat helicopters. The Warsaw Pact has more tanks, infantry combat vehicles, and artillery. It is a question of lowering the levels of these armaments and imparting a defensive character to the doctrines of both alliances. This we are already doing. In what way? We are changing the structure of our troops located in the fraternal countries. We are reducing the number of tanks. But, we are increasing the numbers of antitank and antiaircraft means, means for setting up obstacles and laying minefields and camouflage equipment—defensive measures, in other words. This was spoken about in detail a few days ago by Defense Minister Yazov on the pages of IZVESTIYA.

Is this weakening our defense or the defense of our allies? I think that the answer to this is no. But the political prestige of the Warsaw Pact countries is undoubtedly

gaining from this. Let us say this frankly: The proposal that we made to the West to go over to defensive military doctrines was at first seen as propaganda, as a sort of playing up to the public. The decision of the Warsaw Pact countries unilaterally to reduce their forces and to change the structure of these showed that this was not the case. I have no doubt that the actions of the countries of the alliance will have an effect on the Vienna talks.

[Pravdin] In the NATO countries it is being said loudly that our decision radically alters the situation in Europe and that the West must give an adequate reply. What is your opinion on this?

[Pasko] I agree with you Sergey Yevgeniyevich. Bush, the new U.S. President, stated that the problem of reducing conventional forces will be a priority one in the policy of his administration. One must suppose that questions connected with this will also be under discussion at the upcoming meeting between Comrade Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State Baker in Vienna, where the foreign ministers of all the countries participating in the talks will gather.

There will also be discussion of these questions at the meeting announced for May of the heads of states and governments of the NATO countries. I am in no position to forecast what decisions will be made there; the opposition to disarmament tendencies is great and this must be taken into account. But understanding in the West that increasing one's military might is no longer a guarantee of security is making itself felt no less clearly. [passage omitted]

Internal Disputes on New NATO Missile Noted

PM0603161989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Yu. Kovalenko dispatch: "France, Great Britain: Battles Around the Missile"]

[Text] Paris—For the past 2 years Paris and London have been discussing the question of the creation of a new Franco-British long-range [as published] air-to-ground nuclear missile for the two countries' air forces.

The latest round of talks on this question has only just ended in Paris. They were attended by the defense ministers of France and Great Britain, who also paid a visit to the Albion Plateau where the French strategic forces are stationed. The adoption of a final decision has again been postponed. This time Paris has asked that London clearly define its requirements for tactical nuclear weapons prior to embarking on the implementation of the joint program, which may include the participation of the United States.

People on the banks of the Seine would like the joint missile with a proposed range of up to 800 km to be based on the French ASMP [medium-range air-to-ground] missile with a range of up to 300 km. However, people on the other side of the Channel view the technical specifications of the new missile with great skepticism and give preference to the "cruise" missiles. The British military continue to study the project. However, some observers believe that it has clearly been postponed indefinitely.

Two new factors have emerged recently, the newspaper LE MONDE writes, which may play a decisive role in deciding the fate of the Franco-British missile. First, U.S. experts have joined specialists of the two countries in studying the aforementioned project. And second, the NATO Nuclear Planning Group, which does not include France, has demanded that North Atlantic alliance defense ministers back the U.S. program for the development of a new air-launched missile within the framework of the plan for the modernization of tactical nuclear weapons deployed in Europe.

The Pentagon is stubbornly foisting on its allies its SRAM-2 missile with a range of 250 km. As an active member of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group, Great Britain is faced with a difficult choice: either once again demonstrating its traditional solidarity with the United States and joining the production of the U.S. missile, or choosing the European option and joining the French.

It is expected that Defense Secretary G. Younger will adopt the final decision in the middle of the current year. Let us not try to guess in advance what it will be, but it can be claimed with confidence that the Pentagon and the U.S. military-industrial complex will not want to lose the billion-dollar contracts and will do everything in their power to bury the Franco-British missile and persuade London to support their project. According to Washington, the modernization of the nuclear arsenals must be carried out according to U.S. plans.

* FRG Accused of 'Double Game' on Disarmament

WA18070535 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in RussianNo 9, 1 Mar 89 p 9

[Article by Valentin Zapevalov (Bonn-Munich): "Disarmament: A Double Game?"]

[Text] The subject of the discussion sounded intriguing: "There is a great demand for disarmament. Why precisely today?" The composition of its participants was even more attractive: the U.S. ambassador to NATO, John Cornbloom; a foreign political expert of the CDU/CSU [Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union] in the Bundestag, Mikaela Geiger; and their colleague the Social Democrat Karsten Foigt. I accepted the invitation from Godel Rosenberg, who is in charge of Bavarian television programs, to keep them company since I had many questions both for the Bonn politicians and for the American experts.

The most widely used words in the German lexicon today are "modernization" and "disarmament." The regular high-level NATO meetings are approaching and they should establish the points of reference for future policy in the area of security in the West.

The federal government, mainly Foreign Affairs Minister H.-D. Genscher and recently also Chancellor H. Kohl, have preferred to avoid the word "modernization." I recall that they were speaking of the American short-range tactical nuclear missiles that are located in the FRG. As a member of the Presidium of the SPD [Social Democratic Party], Egon Bahr, noted, the word "modernization" is not quite correct in this case. For, judging from the information that has made its way through, instead of the Lens (radius of action 120 km), the Americans intend to deliver to West Germany a brand new model of missile which will be able to cover a distance of up to 500 kilometers. And Bahr thinks that this is already an "arms race, since a new arms system will appear."

People in the Federal Chancellery and the FRG Ministry of Foreign Affairs persuaded me in confidential discussions that official Bonn is against modernization. And not only because the ruling parties are afraid of the outcome of the elections to the Bundestag in 1990. I was told that the new missiles are a threat to the security mainly of the West Germans, and the main thing is that they are a threat to the earmarked process of disarmament.

The arguments sounded serious and convincing. And suddenly there was an announcement on the television program "Report": By an order from the Bundeswehr, a new missile that can be equipped with a nuclear warhead is being developed. As early as March of this year it is intended to sign an agreement concerning an international consortium for producing the new missile. Participating in it will be the West German military concerns Messerschmidt-Belkov-Blom, Karl Diehl, MAN, and also the American aircraft corporation Martin-Marietta—the same one that produced the Pershing.

The television journalists were telling the truth. The federal government admitted its "sin" and announced that it was calling a halt to the "missile plans."

But now there was another sensation: At the Bundeswehr military near the city of Idar-Oberstein, according to British journalists, they are prepared to receive the new American Mars launchers, which are intended to be the base models for modernized operational-tactical missiles.

Each of the launchers, which were given the name Mars in the Bundeswehr, can carry 12 nuclear missiles. The Pentagon plans to locate 750 of these launchers in Europe, mainly in the FRG. And another admission from federal officials: Yes, they knew about it, even last year....

What is this, a double game?

Production Conversion Forum Begins in Bonn
PM0303125189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by own correspondent Ye. Bovkun: "Chances for Conversion"]

[Text] Bonn—An international conference on questions of converting military production has begun in Bonn. It has been organized by a group from the Bundestag faction of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD], which has invited to the FRG scientists and political and public figures from various countries, including the USSR and the United States.

In his speech the U.S. representative stressed that for many of his compatriots the continuation of the "cold war" against the USSR had lost all meaning, especially since M.S. Gorbachev's UN speech. The need for conversion has really entered the agenda. The experience of elaborating modern military technologies could, for instance, be used in joint space research. At the same time to resolve the problems of conversion there is no need to create any new political structures. Existing institutions and organizations can perfectly well cope with this task. Difficulties lie in the fact that industrial unions, managers, and engineers employed in the U.S. military industry have virtually no experience in the production and, the main thing, the sale, of civilian output.

The head of the Soviet delegation recalled in turn that the USSR embarked on conversion almost immediately after the entry into force of the agreement on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles at enterprises in Votkinsk, Volgograd, Petrozavodsk, and Sverdlovsk, which produce missiles, launchers, and delivery vehicles. Part of the transport system is being refitted to serve as mobile cranes. The task has been set of producing at the country's military enterprises this year civilian output worth R27 billion, which is equal to 7.5 percent of the total volume of all consumer goods.

Of course, the potential for "technical conversion" is so far limited, other participants stressed. For instance, there is no great point in switching from the production of supersonic combat aircraft to the production of similar civilian airliners inasmuch as super speeds in civilian air communication are a problematic business. Of course, it would be possible to refit heavy combat tanks as all-terrain vehicles and use them during accidents at nuclear power stations. There are also other conversion options.

Nonetheless there are many difficulties on this path. I asked Professor Gert Weisskirchen, an SPD Bundestag deputy who took part in the meeting, where the West German Social Democrats see these difficulties.

"In view of the fact that conversion is becoming a subject of practical policy, its difficulties are also of a purely practical nature. The first is perhaps the modification of the aims of production. Years will pass before a new collection of production tasks has been elaborated in detail. In addition, the interests of businessmen and workers during the conversion process must be brought into line with state interests. In other words, a comprehensive approach is important here. I agree with my U.S. colleague that additional political structures will not be needed for this, but new political thinking and new political actions are essential. Of course, each state can develop its own conversion concepts, but they will acquire a real future only as a result of multilateral cooperation in the disarmament sphere. The disarmament process and the conversion process are closely interlinked."

Central Committee Secretaries Meet on Economics

Slyunkov Departs for Meeting

LD0503220789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 5 TASS—Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, left for Prague today. He will take part in a meeting of the secretaries of the Central Committees of fraternal parties on economic problems.

He was seen off at the airport by Comrade Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Comrade Musatov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; and responsible workers of the CPSU Central Committee. Among those seeing him off was CSSR ambassador to the USSR Rehorek.

Arrives in Prague

LD0503185389 Moscow TASS in English 1844 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] Prague March 5 TASS—Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the CPSU CC Political Bureau and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, arrived here on Sunday for an economic conference of secretaries of Central Committees of fraternal parties.

At the airport he was met by Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and other officials. The welcoming party also included Soviet Ambassador to Czechoslovakia V. Lomakin.

'Broad Range' of Issues

LD0603211389 Moscow TASS in English 1639 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Prague March 6 TASS—Secretaries for economic issues of the Central Committees of the communist and workers' parties of the CMEA member countries at a conference that opened here on Monday will discuss a broad range of problems, including topical issues of development, further intensification of socialist economic integration and experience of party guidance over the perfection of economic mechanisms and foreign economic activity.

Participants Listed

LD0803092789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1721 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Prague, 7 Mar (TASS)—A conference of the secretaries of the Central Committees of Communist and workers' parties of CEMA member countries on economic problems was held in Prague 6-7 March. Taking part in it were:

From the BCP—Grisha Filipov, member of the Politburo, and secretary of the BCP Central Committee;

From the MSZMP—Pal Ivanyi, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee;

From the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV]—Vu Oanh, secretary of the VCP Central Committee;

From the SED—Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee;

From the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC]—Lionel Prieto Soto, secretary of the PCC Central Committee;

From the Mongolian Peopie's Revolutionary Party [MPRP]—Demchigiyn Molomjamts, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MPRP Central Committee;

From the PZPR—Wladyslaw Baka, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee;

From the RCP—Ion Sirbu, secretary of the RCP Central Committee;

From the CPSU—Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee;

From the CPCZ—Josef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Also taking part in the conference was CEMA Secretary Vyacheslav Sychev.

There was an exchange of views on a number of topical matters concerning social and economic development, as well as the economic and scientific-technological cooperation of CEMA member countries, which the fraternal parties are tackling at the present time with the aim of strengthening socialism in every country and in the community as a whole.

The significance of concentrating the efforts of the fraternal countries aimed at raising the economic capacity of the community by way of intensifying their interaction was stressed at the conference. Also discussed were initiatives on deepening integration, and the setting up of an integrated market of interested CEMA member countries, as well as the economic, organizational, and legal conditions necessary for its formation. It was noted that the deepening of cooperation should help the realization of those new requirements flowing from current trends in the development of the world economy.

The conference passed in a constructive, businesslike, and open atmosphere. The secretaries of the Central Committees of the fraternal parties were received by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Gerasimov Conducts Foreign Ministry Briefing 7 Mar

Presents Statement on Afghanistan

LD0703164689 Moscow TASS in English 1524 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Unattributed report: "USSR Foreign Ministry's Statement"]

[Text] Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, made the following statement at a briefing in Moscow on Tuesday:

"The Afghan opposition's consultative council (shura), at the recent meeting in Rawalpindi, formed a so-called interim government.

This is not the first time the Peshawar-based 'Alliance of Seven' tries to legalise its activity directed at escalating the civil war in Afghanistan, which has become a modus vivendi of the armed opposition which obtains lavish handouts and military and moral support.

It would be possible not to attach much importance to the emergence of the third self-proclaimed government, considering the failure of the previous two. The current unseemly attempt to seize power in the country features, however, a new element, namely the opposition's persistent search for international recognition.

In this connection we would like to state the following.

1. There exist only one legitimate government of the Republic of Afghanistan and one legitimate head of state, President Najibullah.

That the Afghan leadership officially stated the absence of any claims on its part to the monopoly of power is not dictated by its weakness, but the priority it attaches to the supreme interests of the Afghan people and the aspiration to end war and establish peace and stability in the country.

The leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan has all necessary means to repulse by force any military pressure on it, but this is a path of bloodshed, casualties and destruction.

2. The only sensible alternative to war in Afghanistan is the path of peace talks and compromises and establishment of inter-Afghan dialogue with a view to creating a broad-based government with the participation of all warring Afghan forces and factions.

This government, of course, is unthinkable without participation of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA].

Precisely these principles—dialogue and broad-based government—which were unanimously approved by the international community in a resolution of the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly, are called upon to become main elements in a comprehensive Afghan settlement.

The attempts to create any separatist 'government' run counter to the idea of broad-based government, and may only exacerbate inter-Afghan differences, complicate the search for possible peaceful solutions and lead to a fresh escalation of war.

3. It is perfectly clear that the opposition factions, drawn apart by differences but continuing to push the country towards mass fratricide, ignoring the wish of the absolute majority of the population, the wish that was conceived in suffering, to eliminate the horrors of the war cannot represent the Afghan people, nor do they represent them.

4. Peace and national accord in Afghanistan can only be achieved through concerted efforts of all political parties and groups, including, of course, the PDPA which enjoys support of a considerable part of the Afghan population.

A nationwide and broad-based government that the Afghan leadership is urging to set up will be able to secure in conditions of peace a free expression of the will of the Afghans, voluntary return of all citizens and restoration of the war-ravaged economy.

Comments on Vienna Speeches

LD0703160689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1421 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 7 Mar (TASS)—The reaction of U.S. leaders to the proposals contained in USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's speech in Vienna, has been appraised by Gennadiy Gerasimov, the head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, as "constructive, in the spirit of efforts to find a common approach to problems of lowering the level of military confrontation in Europe." In the course of today's briefing he dwelled on the speech in the Austrian capital by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, who said, among other things, that the "Soviet way of thinking is in many respects close to the American one" and that it is necessary to "work for progress on this common basis."

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman noted that the Soviet and U.S. delegations in Vienna, as well as the delegations of other states, now have "an opportunity for successful joint work, for expanding the existing points of contact."

Gennadiy Gerasimov described as devoid of any foundation the claims by certain organs of the U.S. press that the Soviet Union allegedly intended unilaterally to stop giving aid to Nicaragua or to reduce its volume. "The Soviet Union's aid to Nicaragua is stable in character," he stressed.

Three-quarters of Soviet troops on the territory of Mongolia will return home, the representative of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced. The disbanding or reduction of the combined-arms formations is envisaged. Apart from this, the entire Soviet aviation contingent will be withdrawn from the Mongolian People's Republic and disbanded.

There was a report at the briefing on the current visit to India by a group of 59 Soviet Vishnu pilgrims, known in the USSR as Krishnaites. The trip of the pilgrims will last until 15 April. They will take part in the annual international conference of Vishnu devotees, which will be held this month in the town of Mayapur (western Bengal). In the group are representatives of Moscow, Leningrad, Riga, Kaunas, Vilnius, Naberezhnyy Chelny, and Chernigov.

"An attempt to sell stale old goods in slightly updated packaging," was how the representative of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs characterized the resolution recently adopted by the U.S. Congress on nonrecognition of the fact that the Baltic republics have become part of the USSR, which contained attacks aimed at the policy of restructuring.

Gennadiy Gerasimov also informed journalists of the signing in Ankara on 1 March of a Soviet-Turkish program of scientific and cultural exchanges for the years 1989-1990. In this program, a significant place is for the first time accorded to exchanges between creative unions—theatrical workers, architects, writers, and composers.

Congratulating the journalists on the upcoming International Women's Day, the chief of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Information Directorate announced that at the present time, 82 women work in the central apparatus in diplomatic posts in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and 19 women diplomats are employed at Soviet representative offices abroad.

Explains Embassy Staff Increases

LD0703150289 Moscow TASS in English 1444 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 7 TASS—Beginning from February 1, 1989, the numbers of permanently-based personnel of the embassies of the Soviet Union in Washington and of the United States in Moscow increased to 243 persons on each side, and are to increase to 256 people from August 1, Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, told a briefing on Tuesday. Besides this, in accordance with the exchange of diplomatic notes between the USSR and the USA it is envisaged to increase the number of permanently-based staffers of the consulates-general of the USSR in San Francisco and of the United States in Leningrad to 28 persons on each side as of February 1 and to 30 as of August 1.

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman explained that this agreement was reached because of the increased workload of diplomats and consular officials of the embassies of the two countries. "The mutual increase of the number of diplomats attests to the widening of ties between the USSR and the USA and is another sign of the positive development of Soviet-American dialogue", Gennadiy Gerasimov said.

Comments on Environmental Work

LD0703152289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1420 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Mosow, 7 Mar (TASS)—"The Soviet Union clearly recognizes the danger of ecological catastrophe and is ready to make its contribution to common efforts to eliminate deformations of the environment which have occurred," Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, said at a briefing here today.

Dwelling on the problem of protecting the earth's ozone layer, he recalled that the Soviet Union was one of the first to sign the Vienna convention on protection of this layer, and in November 1988 it ratified the Montreal protocol on substances destroying atmospheric ozone.

The USSR strictly observes its commitments under the Montreal protocol, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said. In keeping with the requirements of this document for freezing and eventually reducing the use of chlorofluorocarbons (CFC's), a program has been devised in the Soviet Union for switching to alternative non-ozone-active propellents (aerosols). Under this program, in 1988 one of the Soviet factories making aerosols completely switched from CFC's to carbon propellents. This year two more factories will switch to production of aerosols made of carbon raw materials. In the Soviet Union an intensive search is being made for substitutes for CFC's and alternative technologies are being developed.

Gennadiy Gerasimov stressed the need to embark on real international cooperation to fulfill the points of the Montreal protocol.

Gerasimov Discusses Sakharov, Talks With Israel

PM0603113189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[G. Charodeyev report: "Information and Disinformation. From Our Correspondent at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center"]

[Text] The latest briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists opened with the official presentation of the Russian translation of U.S. President George Bush's book "Looking Forward." A.K. Avelichev, director of the "Progress" publishing house, said in part that the publication of the book is the response to a real social need which is acutely felt in Soviet society. People want to

form their own impressions of the political opinions of foreign leaders and to know their viewpoints. People in the Soviet Union, he noted, would also like to know more about the head of the White House himself. Fifty thousand copies of the book have been published. Other editions will be published if necessary.

Subsequently the journalists were addressed by G.I. Gerasimov, head of the Foreign Ministry Information Directorate. A correspondent of the newspaper RIZO-SPASTIS asked:

"As is known, recently the newspaper OTTAWA CITIZEN published a report on Academician A. Sakharov's news conference in Canada. Among other things he is reported to have said that in the course of combat operations in Afghanistan, Soviet helicopters shot at Soviet servicemen more than once to stop them from being taken prisoner. Could you comment on this statement?"

"At the news conference Academician A. Sakharov referred to eyewitnesses whom he failed to name. He also told Soviet correspondents who managed to get through to him in Boston by telephone that he himself had not met the eyewitnesses but had been told this. That means that A. Sakharov was using a secondary source. On the other hand, the academician's statement was commented on by Lieutenant General B. Gromov, former commander of Soviet forces in Afghanistan, and Marshal of the Soviet Union S. Akhromeyev. These authoritative people emphasized that A. Sakharov's information does not correspond to reality.

"I believe, of course, that our military leaders answer for their words. Academician Sakharov, on the other hand, has fallen victim to disinformation."

The briefing chief was asked about the upcoming meeting between Soviet and Israeli experts.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman announced that agreement to hold such a meeting was reached between Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and his Israeli counterpart Mr M. Arens during their talk in Cairo. The ministers expressed the unanimous opinion that contacts should be continued, with a view to finding ways toward a Near East settlement. However, so far neither the level of the meeting nor its schedule have been discussed with the Israeli side.

Gerasimov Cited on Helsinki Process, Bilateral Ties

LD0603223189 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 2015 GMT 6 Mar 89

[From the "Panorama" program]

[Text] Gennadiy Gerasimov, foreign affairs spokesman, has spoken to a correspondent of "Panorama" in Moscow.

[Unidentified correspondent] Recently, there has been much talk of reexamining the Yalta agreement and the Brezhnev doctrine.

[Gerasimov, in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation] When the Helsinki process got under way and the Final Act was signed in Helsinki, this declared that the countries' borders in Europe were final; so in this manner Helsinki began a new period. Thus, Yalta and all that happened there pertains to historians. It is not Yalta, but the Helsinki Final Act which we must take as our point of departure. This is how the situation developed in Europe historically.

With regard to the Brezhnev doctrine, that is the West's definition, which we never used. We now are of the opinion that every country decides for itself on the issues that affect it, what it should do and how. We can give advice, we can discuss these issues, but the right to decide is not ours, it belongs to each country. In other words, the fate of every country is in its own hands.

Let us take, for example, your country. We just had a high-ranking guest in our country, Comrade Nemeth. Soon Comrade Grosz will visit us. So the dialogue is continuous, and that is how it should be. They come to Moscow so that we can hold an exchange of views. Moscow does not command anything, it does not say do this and this. Moscow only listens to the experiences, and we tell the Hungarian comrades what we are doing; perhaps they can utilize something from our experiences. It is also possible that the experiences might be negative in some sphere; perhaps we will establish that something should have been done a different way. That is how our relations take shape nowadays: the relationship is not one of superior-subordinate, but of equal partners.

Position on Rushdie Death Threat Explained

18070146 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 9, 4-10 Mar 89 p 3

[Article by D. Makarov: "Delicate Work"]

[Text] **"Why has the Soviet Union not joined the European and other countries of the world community in condemning Iran for its threat to kill the English writer S. Rushdie, author of the book "The Satanic Verses?"**

[signed] **V. Sidorenko, Maritime Kray"**

The book by the well-known English writer from India, Salman Rushdie, really has provoked an unprecedented and sharp reaction. Mass demonstrations by Muslims protesting the publication of the book are taking place at this time in India, Pakistan, the Arab countries and even in Great Britain itself. Dozens have already been killed. Particularly sharp protests have been voiced against this publication in Iran, where the country's spiritual leader, the Ayatollah Khomeyni, has described the novel "The Satanic Verses" as an insult to Islam and has said that its author deserves death.

It should be noted that the opinion of the spiritual head of Iran, who does not hold any official post, is not the same as a sentence that must be carried out. Rather it is the emotional reaction of a man whose religious sensibilities have been truly insulted. No death sentence has been passed on S. Rushdie in Iran. Under Muslim law only a court of the Shari'ah can impose certain sentences. The situation was made even more complicated when the nongovernmental and evidently extremist fundamentalist Iranian organization the Islamic Martyr Foundation offered a "prize" of $5 million for Rushdie's head, which naturally poured oil on the flames and led to the activation of an anti-Iran campaign in Europe and the United States.

According to assertions from the Iranians, the government of that country did at one time appeal to the Thatcher government asking it to ban publication of the book because it was insulting to Muslims, warning that publication could lead to the most adverse consequences. Incidentally, before it was published in England the book was categorically banned in India on religious grounds.

It is worth remembering that in the past the British Government has also resorted to the imposition of bans on the publication of books that deal with Britain's state interests. For example, there was the publication recently of the memoirs of a British counterintelligence agent, in which certain aspects of the activity of the British intelligence services were discussed. In the case of Rushdie's book, however, the Thatcher government did not consider it necessary even to express publicly its own opinion on it, not to mention dissociating itself from it.

As a result, a crisis has now developed in Anglo-Iranian relations. The EEC countries have sided with London, deeming it necessary to recall their ambassadors from Tehran "for consultation," while the British Government has recalled all personnel from its embassy and ordered Iranian diplomats to leave London. The British have virtually broken off diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Iran. In response, the Iranian Majlis has decided to given Britain 7 days to change its position, otherwise it will severe diplomatic relations with it.

Naturally, this deterioration of the situation is not to the advantage of any of the parties drawn into the conflict and is having an adverse effect on the international political climate.

In such situations what is needed as never before is help from someone who can look at things soberly and help both sides to extricate themselves from the difficult situation that they have created. By coincidence, the Iran-European conflict reached its highest point at the moment the USSR Foreign Minister E. Shevardnadze was completing his previously planned visit to the countries of the Near and Middle East, during the course of which he visited Iran. In one of the Arab countries he received a message from the British Foreign Secretary G. Howe, asking him to help in resolving the situation that had been created. On his arrival in Tehran E. Shevardnadze discussed the problem that had arisen over the book "The Satanic Verses" in a detailed face-to-face conversation with Iranian Foreign Minister A. Velayati, and then with the chairman of the Islamic Consultative Assembly (the parliament), A. Hashemi-Rafsanjani.

As a result, according to a briefing from the chief of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Information Directorate G. Gerasimov, the impression was created that the government of Iran really is interested in settling the situation that has arisen and thinks that the USSR might be able to play a positive role in this.

Of course, this issue is also a subject for discussion at the talks between the foreign ministers of the USSR and Spain that are to take place 2 through 4 March in Moscow, and during a meeting between E. Shevardnadze and G. Howe in Vienna.

In this case Soviet diplomacy is acting fully in accord with the concept of the new political thinking while resisting the temptation to put on the propaganda eyeglasses of any one of the parties involved, and it is conducting delicate work to settle this far from simple conflict.

Official Comments on Economic Situation, Hungary

AU0703145689 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Interview with "agricultural expert" Oleg Bogomolov, director of the Economics of the World Socialist System Institute in Moscow, by Christian Schueller in Vienna—recorded; date not given]

[Text] [Schueller] As difficult as life has been in the individual Soviet republics over the past decades, a unifying bond, so to speak, was the common rejection of the Western model. Now I see a new evaluation of the Western system—the social achievements of the Western capitalist societies have to be simply seen in a different light.

[Bogomolov] Yes, we are renouncing several Marxist dogmas and have to recognize reality. Reality shows us that the Western society is developing, that modern capitalism is moving toward post-capitalist society—it is changing. We see that in this society there are many characteristics which correspond to the concept of socialism, for instance collective ownership. Today in every Western society there is joint stock capital and this is some form of collective ownership. There is also planning, not in the sense of planning by directives, but indicative [indikativ] planning exists in various Western countries. We consider planning a characteristic of socialism, but today there is planning almost everywhere. Then there are the guarantees given by the state to the people concerning life insurance, health insurance,

and various other social guarantees—perhaps in the Western societies they are even further developed than in the Soviet Union, for instance.

[Schueller] However, on the other hand, the social achievements in the West are the result of the workers' struggle. Is something like this possible in the Soviet Union, where the trade unions and the entrepreneurs are in one hand?

[Bogomolov] I would say they are not only the result of social struggles, they are also the result of the influence of the socialist revolution in the Soviet Union.

[Schueller] Of the fear of this revolution.

[Bogomolov] Perhaps it was fear of the revolution or perhaps it was the need to make concessions to the interests of the working people.

[Schueller] Nevertheless, without free trade unions, which can represent the workers' interests on their own toward the state as the entrepreneur, is it....

[Bogomolov] Today we have self-management in every enterprise in our country and we have various forms of democratic organization. Perhaps we do not always need independent trade unions.

[Schueller] When the law on socialist enterprises was introduced granting more independence to the enterprises, it was also said that this will give more power to the enterprises to face the bureaucracy. Now it has been demonstrated that in the face of general shortages of goods, the bureaucracy is obviously necessary to distribute the few goods that are available in a relatively just way and to produce them.

[Bogomolov] This is the contradiction in our development today. We have to eliminate this bureaucracy but we cannot do this. Nevertheless, I think that eventually we will do this because otherwise there will be no way out of today's economic situation.

[Schueller] The Western press quoted you as saying that you can imagine the development of a bourgeois democracy in Hungary and that Hungary would still not leave the Warsaw Pact and would remain an ally of the Soviet Union. How do you imagine this?

[Bogomolov] Of course, one can imagine Hungary developing in the direction of the Western democracies. There is this possibility, but it is only a hypothesis. And I gave a hypothetical answer to this hypothesis. I can imagine such a development but in this context it is not necessary for Hungary to withdraw from the Warsaw Pact. This is one hypothesis. The other one is also possible. If one talks about the country's foreign policy, one can also imagine that Hungary might pursue a neutralistic foreign policy. I said that, in my view—and this is my personal view—this would not endanger the security of the Soviet Union.

Ryzhkov Receives Foreign, Local Women Journalists

LD0703174989 Moscow TASS in English 1511 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 7 TASS—By TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova:

Women journalists, both Soviet ones and representatives of the foreign mass media accredited in Moscow, received a good present on the eve of the International Women's Day. Nikolay Ryzhkov, head of the Soviet Government, received in the Grand Kremlin Palace representatives of the recently created International Press Club of Women Journalists.

The initiators of the meeting called it "thirty-three and one". For two hours Ryzhkov, the only man at the meeting, answered various questions of 33 women. The conversation at Catherine's Hall was held in an easy, lively and festive atmosphere. The hall was brightly lit, there were flowers on the table. However, the conversation was quite serious. Its participants discussed women's problems, in the first place. At the same time, they spoke about perestroyka, the most serious problems facing our society and what is planned to be done for resolving them, and what a difficult thing it is to do. Ryzhkov's answers reflected a sincere desire that women hold a worthy place in our society. Special attention was devoted to the role of journalists in ensuring true glasnost without which is it impossible to renew society.

Answering numerous questions on what kind of a person Ryzhkov is, he told them about himself, his hobbies and his family. This gave an informal and lively character to the meeting. By his unaffected manners, the readiness for an honest and open dialogue and, finally, by his gallantry the Soviet prime minister produced a deep impression on foreign women journalists who shared their impressions with the TASS correspondent after the meeting.

Unfortunately, in some two hours that Ryzhkov could spare for the meeting less than a half of its participants had an opportunity to ask him a question. However, he promised to give answers to all the remaining questions in a written form.

After the official part of the meeting was over, women journalists surrounded Ryzhkov and for several minutes did not let him go. Accompanied by loud applause, one of the participants in the meeting said that they were conferring on Ryzhkov the title of the knight of perestroyka.

Permanent Representation to EC Begins in Brussels
LD0703185289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1515 GMT 7 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; commentary by commentator Oleg Dobrodeyev]

[Text] Let's turn to European matters. It is evident that unique prospects for cooperation including economic cooperation, have opened up on our continent today. The first serious step was taken last June when CEMA and the EEC, having overcome years of alienation, established official relations. Time flies, and, as is known, by 1992 the EEC countries intend to set up a single European market with its own tough standards. Any contrast to that—let's say off the top of one's head a particular example, like the content of lead in car exhausts—will become an insurmountable obstacle in trade. The prospects for cooperation at the level of the two economic organizations are being strengthened by the cooperation which has begun between the Common Market as one organization and individual CEMA countries. A USSR permanent representation within the European Community has opened in Brussels.

[Begin recording] [correspondent K. Mazheyka, identified by caption] A modern Babylon—that's how journalists christened the Common Market Headquarters. And its apparatus of over 14,000 people was permanently registered here 30 years ago. Yes, it was precisely this amount of time that both sides needed to establish official diplomatic relations. The road to this handshake turned out to be a long and fairly difficult one.

Shemyatenkov, USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, presented his credentials to Delors, president of the Commission of European Communities. [video shows exterior of building; group of officials in room; Shemyatenkov presenting credentials to Delors]

[Shemyatenkov] Over the past decades the process of integration in Western Europe has attained a very noticeable, I would say, unique level. Unfortunately, we underestimated this. Now an end has been marked to this underestimation. And today—the day of the presentation of credentials—is, in my view, a significant one in the sense that it opens a period of practical cooperation between the Soviet Union and the European communities.

As far as our mission's tasks are concerned, I think that all its work will be built in accordance with the principles of the new political thinking. This is the spirit of cooperation, openness, and glasnost, a desire for understanding one another and a quest for mutual trust and taking each other's interests into consideration.

We see great prospects and great reserves for cooperation. [end recording]

China

PRC UN Representative Defends Tibet Measures

OW0803111489 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] (Li Zuomin), PRC representative to the UN Human Rights Commission, said: Disturbances in Lhasa, capital of Tibet, were caused by separatists and terrorists sent in from abroad. Separatists attempting to separate Tibet from China do not like measures aimed at improving the livelihood of local residents. These measures have apparently disrupted their plans.

(Li Zuomin) said: The authorities were forced to take appropriate measures in response to the beating, smashing, looting, and arson that occurred during the disturbances.

[Words indistinct] mass rallies, parades, and strikes. According to official information, 12 people, including a policeman, have been killed in the past 2 days.

Chulman, Heilongjiang Firms Sign Barter Pacts

OW0803100689 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Trading companies in China's Heilongjiang Province have signed barter contracts with their counterparts in Chulman Oblast of the USSR.

According to these contracts, the Soviet side will supply inorganic chemical fertilizer, precious metals, and timber to China in exchange for Chinese fabrics, garments, and souvenirs.

Heilongjiang's representatives have expressed interest in cooperation with the Soviet side to build food processing plants and plan to open in Chulman City a Chinese restaurant serving Chinese food prepared by Chinese chefs.

Northeast Asia

Soviet Exporter Views ROK Siberia Investment

SK2402014889 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 24 Feb 89 p 6

[Text] The Soviet Union is considering setting up a few special economic zones in an effort to lure foreign investments, including investments from Korea, Voitolovskiy G. Konstantinovich, executive member of the USSR Exporter's Association said yesterday.

Konstantinovich, who heads a 6-member Soviet market survey mission, cited places neighboring Vladivostok, Leningrad and Odessa as possible sites for the Soviet special economic zones, hinting that Korean capital would be welcomed. The Soviet survey mission arrived in Seoul Wednesday.

In a press conference at the Korea World Trade Center, he revealed his government's plan to set up special zones was aimed at promoting industries using foreigners, adding that Soviet private firms will be able to advance into foreign markets freely beginning April 1.

The Soviet trade mission is scheduled to tour industrial complexes to survey the Korean domestic market and to sound out the possibility of expanding economic cooperation.

Noting his country's remarkable progress in such scientific fields as space, medicine and solar energy, he expressed his hope that Korea and the Soviet Union could seek to jointly tie Soviet high technology and Korea's capital for mass production utility.

He explained that his visit is intended to grasp the real picture of the Korean economy and to know what his country will be able to get from economic cooperation with Korea.

"I would like to meet many Korean businessmen and visit economic organizations to ascertain the true picture," he disclosed. He is planning to stay in Korea for 15 days.

Asked about the Siberian development project, he replied that the Soviet Union is pushing the project forward in long-term prospects. Perestroyka, introduced by Gorbachev, has opened the door for the influx of foreign capital, he added.

"Now the United States and Japan are participating in some part of the projects, especially in the development of raw materials," he said. "But the introduction of Korean capital has not yet been seriously discussed."

Korea's participation in the Siberian development project will be further negotiated, he went on. "Another Soviet trade mission is to visit Korea," he said.

As to the Soviet Union's prospective export items to Korea, he said his country is rich in raw materials Korea needs, including minerals and fishery products.

He did not rule out the possibility of joint ventures in raw material processing and machinery manufacturing.

He revealed that he at first faced difficulties in finding people who are familiar with the Korean economy. But later he said he found some at the Soviet Academy of Science.

"Korean study" is expected to spread in the Soviet Union, he forecasted.

Among the 6-member mission are two in charge of science in the exporters' association and three with the Soviet Academy of Science.

Trial of Accused Terrorist Begins in Seoul

OW0703143289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0910 GMT 7 Mar 89

[From "The World Today" program presented by Igor Goranskiy]

[Text] Beginning in Seoul today was the court case dealing with the catastrophe that befell the South Korean passenger liner that disappeared at the end of November 1987 without a trace near the Thai-Burmese border.

The prosecution has put forward a case of premeditated destruction of the plane against a certain Kim Hyon-hui who left the plane in Abu Dhabi, capital of the United Arab Emirates, where the plane made its last stop before disappearing. [video shows Kim Hyon-hui at a press conference and being escorted from a plane] This woman was arrested there for presenting a forged passport.

After the prisoner was sent to South Korea, the regime was quick to announce her ties with the DPRK. However, no significant evidence of this was released at that time and the debris of the disappeared plane was never found. That is why the evidence of the prisoner herself, who stated that she ostensibly blew up the plane under orders from North Korean authorities, is hardly well-grounded. As Japan's SHUNKAN SANKEI [as heard] said, the possibility that Kim Hyon-hui was recruited by the South Korean secret service must not be ruled out.

After new President of Korea No Tae-u came to power—by that time the Seoul Olympic games were about to start—the trial of the woman was postponed for almost 1 year. Now she has been charged with three offenses which could result in a death sentence. However, Japan's KYODO NEWS AGENCY does not rule out that the South Korean Government, keeping the political situation in the country in mind, will pardon the 27-year-old Kim Hyon-hui.

'No Results' at Latest Inter-Korean Talks

PM0603140389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Correspondent V. Lukashin dispatch: "Second Round—Again No Results"]

[Excerpt] Pyongyang—[passage omitted] The meeting between representatives of the governments of the DPRK and South Korea, who are to prepare high-level military-political talks, was scheduled for 2 March. And although the first round, which took place in February at the South Korean Peace Center, failed to produce tangible progress, many diplomats and Western journalists with whom I talked regarded the very fact that it had been held as a success. "Any dialogue," THE NEW YORK TIMES correspondent said, "is better than confrontation!"

And so last Thursday representatives of newspapers and journals and radio and television observers accredited in Seoul and Pyongyang again descended on Panmunjom. However, this time there were considerably fewer journalists. Clearly, some of them had worked out that following U.S. President G. Bush's visit to Seoul it would be hard to expect success from the dialogue.

...The envoys of the North and the South take their places at the negotiating table. "The DPRK takes the view that the 'Team Spirit' exercises currently being held in South Korea are a direct rehearsal of an attack on the North of the country and complicate the dialogue," Paek Nam-chun, head of the delegation from the North and Administration Council adviser, said. The South Korean delegates tried to prove that the maneuvers were merely "defensive" in character. As for the participation in these exercises of U.S. forces, the representatives of the South did not see this as a problem, claiming that the DPRK, too, holds joint maneuvers with its allies. The head of the delegation from the North emphasized, nonetheless, that the suspension of the "Team Spirit" maneuvers is a paramount task and suggested that measures to this effect be adopted without delay.

Essentially no concrete accords were achieved this time either. The representatives of the North and the South decided to hold the third round of the preparatory talks in Panmunjom 12 April.

What can be said in this context? It is impossible to disagree with Pyongyang's stance. It would be difficult to conduct high-level talks while U.S. tanks are rumbling on near the 38th parallel. Incidentally, the South seems to understand this, too. But how can it disobey its senior partner? Seoul's foreign policy course continues to be shaped in Washington. President G. Bush's visit confirmed this once again.

Inter-Korea Dialogue at 'Critical' Phase

PM0603142589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Mar 89 p 3

[Correspondent A. Platkovskiy report: "Silence in Response"]

[Text] Pyongyang—There were two events last week that confirmed that the dialogue between the North and South of Korea is passing through a critical period.

The first meeting to prepare for a "National Conference" between representatives from DPRK public organizations and the "All-South Korean Association of National Movements for Democracy" was wrecked 1 March. The DPRK delegation simply never saw its partners at the negotiating table. The delegation from the South was detained by the authorities on the way to Panmunjom on the military demarcation line.

A second meeting to prepare for military-political talks at the level of prime ministers from the North and South was scheduled for 2 March. The meeting did take place,

but failed to produce any positive results whatsoever. Seoul still rejects Pyongyang's demands for abandonment of the U.S.-South Korean "Team Spirit 89" maneuvers.

The North is currently countering the South's stance with perseverance and persistence: The dialogue must be continued. DPRK representatives will once more arrive in Panmunjom 9 and 16 March to discuss questions concerning joint participation by athletes from the North and the South in the Asian Games, and also to establish contacts between young people's and students' organizations.

DPRK Calls 'Team Spirit' Nuclear Attack Rehearsal

LD0603095989 Moscow TASS in English 0948 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Pyongyang March 6 TASS—The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) emphatically protests against the violation of a Korean armistice agreement, specifically, against the transfer to South Korea of a large U.S. military contingent and the holding of a large-scale military exercise codenamed Team Spirit-89.

The protest was expressed by Major General Choe E-un, [name as received] head of a delegation of the Korean-Chinese side in the military commission on Korean armistice, whose report was phoned in to a U.S. representative in the commission.

The report recalled that at the January 17 session of the Military Armistice Commission, as well as at other sessions, the DPRK had drawn the attention of the American side to serious consequences that the holding of a military exercise with the participation of some 200,000 serviceman and an enormous amount of military hardware might have for the situation in Korea and the North-South dialogue. The report said that the decision to hold the Team Spirit military exercise was an open challenge to the Korean and other peace-nminded nations that support detente, peace and unification.

According to the report, the U.S. cannot shirk responsibility for creating obstacles in the way of North-South dialogue. The Team Spirit exercise is a rehearsal for a nuclear attack, the report stressed.

U.S. Urging More Expansion of Japanese Military

OW0703070889 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 27 Feb 89

[From the "World Today" program]

[Text] The U.S. Administration has decided to postpone until 10 March the start of joint efforts with the Japanese Air Self-Defense Forces to develop a new type of fighter plane. Station reporter Kudin writes:

Not along ago an agreement was reached on this issue. Washington and Tokyo decided to manufacture a new type of fighter plane for the Japanese Air Self-Defense Forces based on U.S. F-16 fighter planes. A related memorandum of mutual understanding signed in November of last year mentioned the specific units that will participate in the work, including Japanese and U.S. companies.

Problems suddenly cropped up. In fact, people who have watched the development of this military plan are not surprised at all. Controversy over this plan has been going on for some time. The United States is worried that in the course of developing the fighter plane, the U.S. side will be giving more military technology to Japan than it will receive. In this deal, U.S. weapons producers will suffer losses. The Japanese do not need U.S. assistance. They intend to award all the contracts to Japanese industrial companies. This difference eventually forced the U.S. Administration to make the decision mentioned above. It is not entirely groundless that journalists have come to term this a family feud that will be settled very soon.

The foundation of the Japan-U.S. alliance has not changed. Military contacts between the two countries have become closer. There have been more frequent joint military exercises. Projects needed by the United States for the Strategic Defense Initiative will be established in Japan. Although the new U.S. Administration has instructed that the realization of this plan be postponed, it has never opposed the revival of Japanese militarism.

Shortly after Bush became U.S. President and nominated Tower as secretary of defense, there were indications that they are the most avid supporters of the expansion of Japan's military strength. In his recent talk with KYODO NEWS AGENCY, Bush expressed satisfaction over Japan's expansion of armaments. Now he is saying that the Japanese Armed Forces seem limited in their capability to conduct continuous battles.

Japan's MAINICHI SHIMBUN wrote: For the first time, a U.S. President has taken note of this matter. As to the new leader of the Pentagon, even before being confirmed by Congress as secretary of defense, he has called on Japan to expand its armed forces, and even hinted at the need to revise Japan's Constitution for this purpose.

Obviously, Washington still refuses to heed the worries about the revival of Japanese militarism among Asian countries victimized by Japanese aggression during World War II.

Philippine, U.S. Positions on U.S. Bases Viewed

OW0703234489 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Ivanov commentary]

[Text] Is it desirable to have U.S. military bases in the Philippines? The agreement between the United States

and the Philippines on military bases will soon expire. If the agreement cannot be extended according to schedule, it will cease to be in force. This issue has often been mentioned in the Philippines. As we all know, the agreement will expire in September 1991. Today, it is still very difficult to predict the final answer to this question. According to all signs, the continuation of the agreement will depend on political, economic, and other factors. In this connection, station observer Ivanov has the following comments:

At the end of last month, a meeting against war and nuclear weapons was held in Manila. After the meeting, the participants, representing some 20 countries, held a peace march to U.S. military bases at Subic Bay and Clark. Near Olongapo and Angeles cities, the marchers met with many unfriendly local people, who held placards with the words: Don't take our bread away. U.S. military bases are located near the two cities. The local residents are mainly serving the personnel of U.S. military bases and are receiving relatively high wages. Therefore, they naturally want to preserve U.S. military bases. Of course, we must not equate the opinions and interests of those local residents with those of the majority of Filipinos. Most Filipinos are convinced that the U.S. military presence will not strengthen the security of the nation. They are convinced that it impairs the sovereignty and independence of the Philippines and is economically unprofitable to the country.

In Manila newspapers, people can see arguments like this: During World War II the U.S. military presence could not prevent the Philippines from actual Japanese aggression. Now, at a time when there is no military threat to the country and when the world is developing in the direction of mutual coexistence and peaceful cooperation, the U.S. military presence is senseless.

The upsurge of sentiment against U.S. military bases and nuclear weapons in the Philippines is being influenced by the intensifying trend toward establishment of a nonnuclear peace zone in the Asia-Pacific region. It is also being affected by the effective example of the New Delhi Declaration, signed by Soviet leader Gorbachev and Indian leader Rajiv Gandhi in 1986, on the establishment of a world without nuclear weapons and violence as its new ideology. Those factors are reflected in the stand of many representatives of the ruling group in the Philippines.

For example, not long ago Philippine Vice President Laurel pointed out that the foreign minister of the Philippines and the U.S. secretary of state must hold a meeting to directly and practically study whether it is necessary to maintain the Clark and Subic military bases in light of the reform in the Soviet Union and the assumption of office by the Bush administration. Earlier, Philippine Foreign Minister Manglapus said: In the subsequent several years there will be a period of national reconstruction and, during that period, the people must make progress in order to turn the Philippines into an economically-developed country. Accordingly, Manila is expanding its contacts with many countries, including the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. As to military bases, they can lose their meaning due to political and military reasons. The foreign minister pointed out: We can turn those military bases to civilian use in the future.

According to a resolution adopted by the Philippine Senate at the end of last year, a special committee will carefully study the question of peaceful use of land occupied by U.S. military bases. It must be pointed out first that the area is very large. The total area is 11,000 hectares. Those lands can be used for agricultural and other purposes. According to an initial estimate, the Subic Naval Base can easily be changed into a seaport and shipyard, for it can accommodate large ships. The area of Clark Air Base can be turned into a modern international airport to accommodate civil aircraft of various types. Experts are convinced that, by carefully utilizing the land of U.S. military bases, the income may be equivalent to the amount of money paid by the Pentagon to the country for the use of those military bases.

From many reports in U.S. newspapers, we can see that, for the time being, Washington apparently does not want to give up its military bases in the Philippines, which occupy an important position in the Pentagon's strategy. On the one hand, the U.S. continues to play the old trick of the so-called Soviet threat. On the other, it not only wants to maintain, but is also attempting to strengthen its military presence in the Asia-Pacific region. It is quite clear that such practice will not gain understanding and support in the Philippines and other countries in the Asia-Pacific region because it runs counter to the spirit of the present time and the wish and desire of people in the region and the entire world.

CPSU Delegation Studies MPRP Youth Work

PM0703141789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Visit to Mongolia"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 6 Mar—A delegation of CPSU party workers headed by P.S. Grishchenko, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Udmurt CPSU Obkom, was in Mongolia 27 February through 6 March under the plan for CPSU-MPRP interparty ties. The Soviet guests familiarized themselves with the experience of the MPRP's work with young people.

The delegation was received by J. Batmonh, general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Mongolian People's Great Hural Presidium.

Mongolian Party Streamlines Organization, Work

PM0703142789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Improving Work"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 4 Mar—In implementation of the decisions of the December (1988) MPRP Central Committee Plenum, a series of measures has been taken to improve organizational, party, and ideological work. According to UNEN today, of the 12 departments of the Central Committee apparatus that existed at the end of 1987, only 8 remain. Their reorganization, with a subsequent 25-percent reduction in staff, will continue. Changes will also be made in the apparatuses of aymak, city, and district party committees.

In order to improve cadre policy, the Suhbaatar Higher Party School attached to the MPRP Central Committee has been instructed to open training courses for the secretaries of primary party organizations.

The statistical report procedure for party organizations has been simplified. Henceforth, aymak and city committees will submit reports to the Central Committee only on the results of the first 6 months of the year and at the end of the year.

A new procedure has been introduced in the organization of festive events. During demonstrations and ceremonial meetings, henceforth only the portraits of K. Marx, F. Engels, V.I. Lenin, and D. Suhbaatar will be displayed in the columns and festive decorations of cities and population centers. The portraits of members and candidate members of the MPRP Central Committee Politburo may be displayed only in clubs and cultural centers, but this should not be mandatory procedure.

A decision has been taken on the question of establishing an information center attached to the union of Mongolian journalists where senior officials from the MPRP Central Committee, Mongolian People's Great Hural Presidium, and Mongolian Council of Ministers; leaders of ministries and departments; scientists; and figures from the cultural and arts world will be regularly invited for meetings with representatives of Mongolian and foreign mass media.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Philippine Science Minister Visits USSR

Received by Tolstykh

PM0603090589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 3 March B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, received A. Arizabal, Philippine minister of science and technology. Opportunities for organizing cooperation between the two countries in various scientific and technical fields were discussed.

A. Melchor, Philippine ambassador to the USSR, took part in the conversation.

Meets Katushev; Cardinal Invited to USSR

HK0803054789 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Today is the last day of Philippine Secretary of Science and Technology Antonio Arizabal's visit to the Soviet Union. He is also chairman of the Philippine-Soviet Friendship Organization. Today he laid a wreath at Lenin's tomb in Moscow's Red Square and at the tomb of the unknown soldier. Earlier, Antonio Arizabal met with Chairman of the Union of the Soviet Friendship Society Valentina Tereshkova. There was a warm and cordial atmosphere during the talks. Both parties expressed their desire to strengthen friendship ties. One of the proposals is a meeting of activists from both countries at Vladivostok next year.

Valentina Tereshkova, on behalf of the Philippine-Soviet Friendship Organization, has extended an official invitation to Jaime Cardinal Sin whenever it is convenient for him.

Antonio Arizabal today also met with Soviet Foreign Economic Relations Minister Katushev.

U.S. Stance on Cam Ranh, Subic Bay Criticized

HK0703061589 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 6 Mar 89

[(Valerich Vatayov) commentary]

[Text] The former commander of the United States naval forces in the Pacific and Indian Oceans, Admiral Hayes, in an interview with NEWSWEEK magazine, responded negatively to the Soviet Union's proposal for the bilateral removal of the material and technical support station in Cam Ranh in Vietnam and the United States' military naval base in Subic Bay in the Philippines.

Our commentator on military issues, Colonel (Valerich Vatayov), discusses this issue. He says:

What it is that Admiral Hayes does not like about the Soviet proposal is difficult to understand. In truth, Hayes contradicts himself. According to him, the material and support station in Cam Ranh is a large Soviet base affecting the stability of the region. By the same token, the admiral declared that if war should break out, the United States could quickly neutralize Cam Ranh. These statements contradict each other.

Let us get at the truth by means of official data from the general command station of the Soviet Union's Defense Ministry. The data show that the base at Subic Bay actually does much more than merely provide a technical and support station. Subic Bay in particular can accommodate more than 3 and ½ times the number of ships, stores almost 6 times more fuel, and has more than 300 times as many weapons as the Soviet facility at Cam Ranh.

In other words, there is no reason to fear a threat from Cam Ranh. Clearly, the American admiral is hiding something. On the one hand, he claims the threat comes strictly from the Soviet side. But on the other hand, what he does not divulge is the unpleasant fact of the strategic importance of the bases at Clark Field and Subic Bay.

Let us get the opinion of Navy Commander Viktor (Barishkov), who, until recently, served at Cam Ranh. He says:

Everyone knows that the American military bases in the Philippines create much tension in the region. It is also clear that they are much bigger installations than Cam Ranh. However, seen from a different political perspective, surely it is necessary to compare everything. In accordance with the treaty between the United States and the USSR on the removal of medium- and short-range missiles, Moscow has in reality made a larger contribution than the Americans by destroying more of its missiles. This was done in the cause of peace.

I believe that there is no need for bargaining if what is being discussed is the interests of worldwide security. The removal of all military facilities in Southeast Asia will help greatly to establish peace and stability, not only within the region but also outside it.

Rogachev Receives PRK Ambassador in Moscow
BK0503132089 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] On 4 March, Comrade Rogachev, Soviet deputy foreign minister, received Comrade Hor Nam Hong, minister and ambassador of the People's Republic of Cambodia to Moscow.

The meeting proceeded in a cordial and comradely atmosphere. Comrade Hor Nam Hong handed to Comrade Rogachev a letter from Comrade Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs of the PRK. The letter was from Comrade Hun Sen to Comrade Eduard Shevardnadze.

Progress on Cambodia 'Can Clearly Be Seen'
BK0303060189 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1230 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Sergey Korolev commentary]

[Text] The outcome of the second informal meeting on the Cambodian problem held last week in the Indonesian capital has just been positively assessed by the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP] Central Committee Political Bureau.

The Jakarta meeting has come a step forward in seeking a political solution to the Cambodian problem. Our commentator Sergey Korolev writes:

We would like to recall the results of the first meeting in Indonesia. At that time the most important result was the agreement on the need to withdraw Vietnamese troops and create a guarantee that the Pol Pot regime would not be allowed to return to power.

At the second meeting, representatives of the PRK, Vietnam, Laos, the three Cambodian warring groups, and the ASEAN countries unanimously recognized the need to link the timetable for the Vietnamese troop withdrawal to the cessation of military aid to all warring parties. They also reached agreement on the formation of an international control commission as an important mechanism to guarantee all agreements relating to Cambodia.

Therefore, progress can clearly be seen. The major result of the Jakarta meeting is the progress in seeking a solution to the international aspect of the Cambodian problem. This is brought about by the improvement of relations between various countries in the world, particularly the continued efforts to normalize relations between the Soviet Union and China. Also playing an important role in this are the Vietnamese-Chinese dialogue, the normalization of relations between the Indochinese and ASEAN countries, and these states' creation of conditions favorable for turning Southeast Asia into a center of peace and cooperation.

The most complicated matter is the solution to the internal aspect of the Cambodian problem. How can this be done in order to turn the people who were enemies yesterday into equal partners in the building of a new political system for the future Cambodia? Hostilities between the four Cambodian parties have piled up already, therefore it is necessary for them to make concessions to each other. It is thanks to such a concession that Phnom Penh has proposed the formation of a quadripartite national reconciliation commission headed by Samdech Sihanouk as a transitional organization to settle the existing problems, such as ending the civil war, organizing an election, and, through this election, forming a future government.

In its session held in Phnom Penh, the KPRP Central Committee Political Bureau stated that the present Cambodian Government is ready to discuss these vital problems with the warring parties at any place and at any time.

Protocol on Fishing Signed With Australia
LD0303151589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0628 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Canberra, 3 Mar (TASS)—A Soviet-Australian protocol on the results of talks between delegations of the two countries on cooperation in the fishing industry was

signed in the Australian capital last night. It is noted in the protocol that as a result of the 4-day talks, a draft agreement between the USSR and Australia on fishing has finally been worked out. A number of fundamental areas for cooperation are planned in the draft. These forsee, in particular, calls by the Soviet fishing fleet at Australian ports for repairs, resupply of vessels, and rest stops for crews. Soviet vessels will conduct an experimental fishing trial in the Australian fishing zone to determine the level of fish stocks in this region. Both sides also intend to cooperate in the field of scientific research, establishing production links between Soviet organizations and Australian firms, and found joint enterprises for the catching, processing, and sale of fish. A mechanism for regular yearly consultations will be created. The possiblity of using chartered Aeroflot planes for changing the crews of fishing vessels has been examined.

On the initiative of the Australian delegation, an exchange of opinions took place on the issue of extending the list of wares Australia may supply to the Soviet Union and also of somewhat reducing other categories of export. A definitive version of the agreement in this area, in which it is intended to include the fishing agreement, will be elaborated later.

Gareth Evans, the Australian foreign affairs and trade minister, together with John Kerin, the country's minister for primary industries and energy, today expressed in a statement for the press their satisfaction with the constructive nature of the talks, which took place in a spirit of cooperation.

Burma Rejects U.S. Influence, Interference

BK0403122589 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Station observer commentary]

[Text] According to the Japanese news agency KYODO, U.S. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan has called on Japan not to resume economic assistance to Burma until the Burmese Government takes concrete steps toward holding multiparty general elections.

Such statements from U.S. officials no longer come as a surprise as the U.S. is always telling other people and governments what to do. This is especially true in the case of developing countries. During August last year, the U.S. Congress passed a resolution demanding the establishment of American-style democracy in Burma. However, this latest statement by Senator Moynihan challenges not only the Burmese people, but also the Japanese Government. It amounts to a challenge to the right of the Japanese Government to decide on how to conduct its relations with other governments.

On 16 February Tokyo announced recognition of General Saw Maung's government, according to a KYODO report. This, a Japanese Foreign Ministry official suggested, would pave the way for a partial resumption of economic assistance to Burma. It is common knowledge that the Western countries, including the U.S. and Japan, suspended their economic assistance to the Rangoon government following the 18 September military coup last year. Tokyo's latest action shows it is ready to reconsider its decision, but the U.S. senator objects to this.

Considering the current state of U.S.-Japan bilateral relations and the widespread calls for Japan to give more assistance to the least developed countries of the Third World, the U.S. senator's demand appears strange. What is behind this?

U.S. spokesmen frequently state that Washington's policy toward Burma is based on protection of the democratic rights of the Burmese people. The U.S. State Department and the Senate have been putting out documents as if Burma is the only country in the world where people's rights are being violated.

Many anti-Burma statements and slogans were heard in the U.S. during the unprecedented popular movements of August and September last year that ended with the assumption of power by the State Law and Order Restoration Council. Since then many exaggerated allegations have been made to slander the Burmese authorities. Many Western news agencies have been deliberately drawing their own conclusions on the number of casualties among the people—figures which cannot be verified—and the nature of the disturbances. It is clear that they approach the new military government with a grudge.

Washington's treatment of some other military governments should be noted here. For example, there was oppression marked by bloodshed and attempts to undermine efforts to restore democracy during the duration of the Ziaul Haq military government in Pakistan, and yet the U.S. did not talk about a boycott then. On the contrary, Pakistan received millions of dollars worth of assistance regularly. The U.S. has also maintained a similar stand toward dictatorial governments in Chile and South Korea. Despite violations of democratic rights in these countries, Washington has not shown its displeasure toward them. One wonders what kind of offense Burma has committed.

The overseas donors have not considered the fact that an economic boycott will not hurt the government, but the ordinary Burmese people. Washington appears to be dissatisfied with the turn of events in Burma, which are not turning out in accordance with the expectations of American political experts who hoped the mass movements in Burma would lead toward U.S.-style politics, as in some Asian countries. Washington may have hoped for a government in Burma that would declare that only

U.S. assistance would help the Burmese people on their march toward democracy. Such thinking was hinted at by Congressman Solarz, who visited during the peak of crisis in Burma. If such a development had taken place, the Americans would have been able to spread propaganda in the Pacific about the attractiveness of U.S.-style politics. It is clear that some U.S. organizations were interested in gaining an obedient ally. However, actual events turned out differently.

International observers note that the democracy movement in Burma is not influenced by slogans that accept U.S. influence, but is marked by traditionally Burmese national liberation slogans. The military authorities in Burma also do not seek to form an alliance with any superpower. Burma's rejection of the U.S. as a master in its move toward democracy appears to be the reason for Washington's scathing criticism of Burma.

There are no real grounds to question the honesty of General Saw Maung's pledge to hold multiparty general elections. Efforts are being made to hold elections, and this was confirmed by Australian Senator Christopher Schacht, who visited Burma recently. This factor appears to be the main reason behind Tokyo's decision to recognize General Saw Maung's government.

Burma Ruling Party, Opposition Prospects Viewed
BK0703094989 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1430 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Aleksandr Vladimirov commentary]

[Text] The Draft Election Law has been promulgated in Burma and it is to be discussed for a month by the people and leaders of the political parties registered with the Election Commission. Although the draft is likely to accommodate amendments and changes, the fact that the draft has been promulgated and presented shows the government of General Saw Maung is following its pledge to hold multiparty general elections. Therefore, it can be said that Burma is now approaching the period of the pre-election campaign.

The political scene in Burma is complicated at the moment. It is clear that not all 233 registered political parties may have seats in the National Assembly. These parties will have to overcome the difficult period of forming alliances. At present, a considerable number of parties are likely to back off to pave the way for political groups that can command the support of the Burmese people.

Presently, there are three leading political alliances centered around parties led by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, U Nu, and Thakin Chit Maung. Observers have noted the common features among the platforms of these alliances, and they attribute it to the pressing problems facing Burma today. Journalists are also commenting on the political objectives of each of these three leaders.

While Daw Aung San Suu Kyi presents the struggle for human rights in Burma as a major issue, U Nu gives priority to economic problems. Thakin Chit Maung, who leads the Democratic Front for National Reconstruction, presents the platform of meeting the needs of the rural people and urban poor. It is clear that when the leading political parties campaign for the election, they will have to describe their platforms in more detail and explain how they differ from rival parties.

The outcome of the election could be determined by the fact that the Burmese electorate does not have much experience in handling the complicated political situation. Under the situation in which various insurgent groups continue their efforts to destabilize the country and rivalry among the parties intensifies, the voters are likely to vote for a political group that can safeguard national unity. The former Burma Socialist Program Party, which is now known as the National Unity Party, is organizing along this line.

Many observers are pointing out that intensification of rivalry among political parties could increase the winning chances for the National Unity Party. The chance for victory would increase if the leaders of that party could prove that they they have no connections with the regional military authorities responsible for implementing the Gen Saw Maung government's agricultural policy.

Foreign observers are pointing out that the political trend in Burma has shifted to the right, and this is closely related to the action taken by the authorities to oppose the extreme leftist elements within the opposition parties. Moreover, Brigadier General Aung Gyi—a former colleague of U Ne Win—has also contributed to and joined the movement to oppose the leftist forces in the opposition. He left the National League for Democracy last November claiming the organization had too many communists and communist sympathizers. The formation of a political party led by retired military officials—the Anticommunist, Antisocialist, Antitotalitarian Free Democracy League—also reflects a similar direction.

Any objective observer can well see the various and broad spectrum of colors in Burma's political scene. Therefore, some time is needed for these forces and political directions to settle down. After the Gen Saw Maung government announced it could not hold the elections earlier than May of next year, there were allegations that they were just trying to delay implementation of their pledge.

Our observer, Aleksandr Vladimirov, concludes by saying that it will be necessary for political leaders in Burma to work hard and that the coming months will be crucial for their efforts.

Near East & South Asia

Gorbachev To Visit Syria in 'Coming Few Weeks'

JN0703180389 Kuwait AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM in Arabic 6 Mar 89 p 1

[Text] Moscow—Informed Soviet political sources have revealed to AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM that Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev will make a 5-day official visit to Syria within the coming few weeks during which he will hold important political talks with President Hafiz al-Asad on the peace process, the international conference idea, the latest political developments in the region, and Syrian-Palestinian relations in light of the differences existing between Syria and the PLO.

The sources added that Gorbachev's visit to Syria constitutes a new categorical evidence of the USSR's intention to increase its direct interference in all that is going on in the Middle East region, especially after the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan.

The Soviet sources said that once he commences his Damascus visit, Gorbachev will extend an invitation to Yasir 'Arafat to visit Syria so that a tripartite summit can be held among Gorbachev, Al-Asad, and 'Arafat. This summit is designed to bring about a reconciliation between Al-Asad and 'Arafat to pave the way for forming a preparatory committee to prepare for the convening of the international Middle East peace conference.

Moscow Ceremony Marks Syrian Revolution Day

PM0703144189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] A ceremonial meeting devoted to the Syrian national holiday—Revolution Day—was held in Moscow 6 March.

Under the Baath Party's leadership, the speeches stressed, Syria has turned over the past 26 years into a state that plays an important role in the Near East. Its principled position of opposing Israeli aggression and its clear-cut and realistic course within the Nonaligned Movement have won it the respect of all progressive forces.

Muhammad 'Isam al-Na'ib, Syrian ambassador to the USSR, took part in the soiree.

Report on Food Supply Convoys Arriving in Kabul

LD0803115889 Moscow TASS in English 1146 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Kabul March 8 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Greshnov and Yuriy Tyssovsky:

Raising the clouds of dust, trucks loaded with wheat, sugar and flour drive up to the dispatcher point. Truck drivers smile happily: We have made it...

More than five days a convoy of 215 trucks was picking its way through the snowdrifts of the Salang Pass on the way from Hayratan to Afghan capital, Kabul, with the supplies of food, fuel and other basic commodities sent to the Afghan people by the Soviet Union. The trucks's windshields and sides are riddled with bullets. However the drivers are shrugging off questions with a joke: We have made it with no adventures. Recalling the danger is not common here.

Exhausted by the five-day jolting journey by war-ravaged roads, the drivers did not pause to rest but drove on after registering their trip tickets and waybills. The grain had to be delivered to grain elevators and state warehouses.

After an hour another convoy passes carrying UN goods for Kabul. This aid, however, is Soviet. The Soviet Government allocated more than 600 million rubles in aid to Afghanistan through UN channels.

"On these days we got convinced once more in the sincere friendship of our northern neighbour," Afghan Planning Minister Sultan Husayn told the TASS correspondents. "Realizing the complex situation in which we have found ourselves, the Soviet people sent to our country the urgent supplies of food and goods. The twenty truckloads which we received brought to the capital 237 tons of sugar, 72 tons of wheat and more than 30 tons of salt. All this cargo will be temporarily stored. But we hope that UN representatives, responsible for the programme of economic and humanitarian aid to our country, will arrive shortly in Kabul to distribute it among the Afghans in need."

Rebels, Seeking Recognition, Besiege Jalalabad

PM0703143189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Review by Yevg. Bay in Moscow and TASS correspondent Yu. Tyssovskiy in Kabul: "Afghanistan: Opposition Stepping Up the Pressure"]

[Text] The Afghan Government Army has renewed combat operations in the region of the Salang Highway, according to REUTER. In the vicinity of Kabul, armed opposition detachments have attacked a convoy of vehicles carrying food and fuel; they set fire to 13 fuel trucks and two trucks carrying flour, UPI reported.

However, despite the rebel operations, the Kabul-Hayratan highway is still open. Kabul Radio has reported that a total of 556 state and private vehicles carrying 6,000 tonnes of food arrived in the Afghan capital on Saturday and Sunday.

Another large convoy with Soviet freight will be arriving here on Monday, a TASS correspondent told us by telephone. It will be a large consignment of flour, which the Soviet Union is giving to the Afghan population as part of the UN aid program.

In Kabul itself, our colleague said in response to our question, the situation is still comparatively calm by Afghan standards. We correspondents can move freely about the city in daytime without any restrictions. The Afghan Foreign Ministry periodically arranges press conferences, and the other day it organized a trip for journalists to the city of Mazar-e-Sharif, in the north of the country. At night, however, we can hear gunfire and explosions in various regions of Kabul. Last night there was a bitter exchange of submachine gun fire right next to the Soviet Embassy which lasted for almost 15 minutes, although the embassy itself was not damaged in any way.

A very difficult situation is taking shape in Jalalabad, which is surrounded by rebels. The road between Kabul and Jalalabad is effectively under blockade and the authorities can only airlift in the necessary arms, ammunition, and food supplies.

UPI has reported from Islamabad that the Afghan armed opposition intends to begin storming this very important Afghan city in the east of the country in the next 10 days. According to UPI, the mujahidin have assembled some 8,000 men around Jalalabad, who are planning to launch an offensive against the city from four directions at once.

The taking of Jalalabad, which is a mere 70 km from the Pakistani border, will, according to the rebels, convince public opinion of mujahidin strength. If they are successful, they propose to set up their so-called "interim government" there. Widespread reports of an inevitable attack on Jalalabad are a kind of psychological offensive designed to sow panic among the city residents and weaken the positions of those defending the city.

From our point of view, the beginning of this propaganda campaign is connected with the reluctance of the opposition's main patrons—the United States and Pakistan—to recognize the "interim government." As is well known, attempts to form such a government at the shura in Rawalpindi were none too successful for the Peshawar alliance. The government does not include representatives of the eight mujahidin parties based in Iran, and its composition has prompted keen resistance from field commanders fighting in Afghanistan itself.

As Pakistani Prime Minister B. Bhutto said the other day, the opposition's demand for international recognition of its government is "premature."

According to REUTER, in an attempt to win recognition abroad, a delegation of the "Alliance of Seven" led by G. Hikmatyar, leader of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan," has flown to Tehran. Hikmatyar, who holds the conditional post of foreign minister in the mujahidin government, also intends to visit Saudi Arabia and other Muslim countries. So far, according to REUTER, the leader of the fundamentalists has had a meeting with Pakistani Foreign Minister Yaqub Khan and persuaded the Pakistani authorities to be the first to recognize the mujahidin "interim government."

Pakistan Plans Afghan Anti-Soviet Propaganda
PM0803114389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5

["IZVESTIYA Press Service" report: "They Are Getting Ready..."]

[Text] It has become known from reliable sources that extreme conservative forces in Pakistan's administration intend to launch an extensive anti-Soviet campaign in the near future, based on accusations that the USSR has for years been deliberately destroying Afghanistan's national economic structures. It is planned during this campaign to make use of the thesis of the "appropriation" of Afghanistan's national resources, destruction of a number of production sectors, degradation of agriculture and stockraising, physical annihilation of large numbers of the able-bodied population, and ecological crimes on the territory of this country.

In addition, it is planned to show by means of "documentary evidence" that the Soviet Union and the Afghan Government have contributed to "the destruction of the Afghan nation's cultural values." Pakistani news media and Western correspondents and movie and television documentary material are to be widely used in the practical implementation of this campaign. One of the aims of the planned propaganda campaign is to induce the West to increase its economic and military aid to the mujahidin, exclusively via Pakistan.

Need for Afghan War Doubted; POW's Discussed
OW0803033889 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 28 Feb 89

[(Ugonachenko) commentary]

[Text] As is known by all, the Soviet Union completed the withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan on 15 February in strict compliance with the Geneva Accord. For our country, although the protracted war has come to an end, the dreadful events surrounding the war are not yet over. The people of the Soviet Union and other countries have continued to show great concern about a number of questions, such as: Was it necessary at that time to dispatch the limited number of Soviet troops? Will there be a recurrence in the future? What should be done in order to bring home the Soviet soldiers captured in Afghanistan? The following is a talk by (Ugonachenko), chief editor of NOVOYE VREMYA, on these questions.

[(Ugonachenko) is heard briefly speaking in Russian, fading into Mandarin translation] All Soviet troops have been withdrawn from Afghanistan. Hundreds of thousands of parents, wives, and fiancees heaved a sigh of relief that their sons, husbands, and fiances have finally come home. However, not all the soldiers have returned, and not all the repatriated soldiers are in good shape. In the decade-long war, tens of thousands of Soviet soldiers have died, been disabled, or become missing in the course of fulfilling their internationalist duty. [Words indistinct] Undoubtedly they carried out their orders with honor.

Today, however, people debate the following questions: Was it necessary to dispatch our troops to Afghanistan? Was it unavoidable? If yes, then why is it necessary to withdraw the troops today? Couldn't problems have been resolved through political and diplomatic means instead of military means? These and many other questions are now asked by people in the Soviet Union, Afghanistan, and other countries.

Why is it necessary to discuss these questions today? Life is like a chess game. No player is allowed to withdraw a move once it is made. The subjunctive mood simply does not exist in political life, nor history. Whatever has occurred is irremediable. No matter how extensive a discussion is held on these questions nor how many ifs are given, it is impossible to remedy things already done. The general opinion of the majority of Soviet people today is that the war was not worthwhile, and that the Soviet soldiers should not have been sent to Afghanistan. There is an even greater consensus on the lessons drawn from the Afghan events—that is, it is necessary to codify the procedures for making a major decision, which should not be kept secret but should be made public before implementation. In the course of reform, the masses of Soviet people have become politically more mature and active. This was never anticipated. Today it is probably impossible to make a decision like we made in 1979.

Our young men have come home after their military service in Afghanistan. However, some were left behind. Several hundred Soviet soldiers are still in an alien land and unable to lead a peaceful life. Here I mean the Soviet prisoners of war. Like their parents, wives, and fiancees, the Soviet people have not forgotten, and it is impossible to forget them. The Soviet prisoners of war know that their motherland will help and save them. As a member of the Soviet Coordinating Committee for Releasing the Soviet Prisoners of War in Afghanistan, I attend meetings and write letters to the relevant departments almost every day. We are also cooperating with international social organizations such as the Red Cross Society and the International Committee for Assisting the Soviet Prisoners of War in Afghanistan headquartered in New York under the leadership of renowned Russian artist (Mikhail Shemyagyn). Many citizens with good will in various countries have also cooperated with us. As we understand it, the Pakistani authorities are willing to give us assistance, to a certain degree, on the matter of repatriating Soviet prisoners of war. We hope that a humanitarian approach will ultimately be taken to deal with the issue of Soviet prisoners of war. I am convinced that with the efforts of all people who uphold justice and humanitarianism, the Soviet prisoners of war will finally return home.

Friendship Between USSR, Afghanistan Viewed
OW0803002989 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 27 Feb 89

[From the "World Today" program; article by station commentator (Lijijev): "Friendship and Cooperation Between Soviet Union and Afghanistan"]

[Text] Dear listeners, 28 February is a significant day in the relations between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan. Sixty-eight years ago the USSR and Afghanistan signed a friendship treaty in Moscow. On this occasion our station commentator (Lijijev) writes:

The 1921 treaty, which Vladimir Ilyich Lenin was personally involved in and drafted, made a firm foundation for the goodneighborly relations between the people of the Soviet Union and Afghanistan.

To the young, independent Afghanistan, the treaty had played an important role in its struggle against the imperialist and colonial influence, as well as in its effort to build up its economy. For example, under the provisions of the treaty, Afghan goods were allowed free and duty-free transit through the Soviet Union; and even during its own difficult times, the Soviet Union agreed to provide Afghanistan with financial and material aid.

The noble purpose and principles of the 1921 treaty were further advanced in the 5 December 1978 treaty of friendship, goodneighborliness, and cooperation. The new treaty reflected the desire of the people of the two countries to strengthen and further their relations and defend the cause of peace.

These days, the Republic of Afghanistan is in a distressful situation. A state of emergency has been announced in the country. The armed opposition forces and the foreign powers backing them would not accept the national peace negotiation initiative proposed by the leader of the Republic of Afghanistan, and continue the fratricidal killing. It is against such conditions that the Soviet Union, after completing its troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, has decided to take action soon so that the Soviet-Afghan cooperation may continue to serve the interests of the people of the two countries. Supplies of food, fuel, and needed commodities continue to flow from the Soviet Union into Afghanistan. The Soviet Union's readiness to render assistance to the Afghan people at times of distress is shown in its active involvement in the United Nations-sponsored aid program. It has already given $600 million to the Republic of Afghanistan.

The Soviet Union has never had any selfish motives in Afghanistan. Upholding another foreign policy principle of the country—emphasizing reform and political restructuring—the Soviets have great respect for the Afghan people's right to choose their country's political system, lifestyle, and policies.

The goodneighborly relations between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan date far back to when the two countries were still young. I have no doubt that this cooperation will again be demonstrated when restoration of the war-torn economy, peaceful settlement of the Afghan problem, and [words indistinct] are given top priority in Afghanistan.

As stated in the Soviet Government statement on 15 February, the Soviets want the Afghan people to choose their own path to peace and harmony, as it is the only way to put an end to bloodshed and bring peace to the soil of Afghanistan.

Kuznetsov Heads Delegation to India Talks

LD0803102489 Moscow TASS in English 1925 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] New Delhi March 7 TASS—India's Foreign Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao opened on Tuesday the 12th session of the Soviet-Indian intergovernmental commission on scientific and technological cooperation. The commission will examine the state of the two countries' trade, economic, scientific and technical relations and map out further practical steps toward the implementation of earlier summit agreements.

The Soviet delegation is headed by Soviet Deputy Premier Vladimir Kuznetsov, chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission.

P.V. Narasimha Rao said in his address that "Indo-Soviet cooperation has been a shining example of multifaceted constructive joint endeavours between two different socioeconomic systems to promote the prosperity and well-being of the people of the two countries."

The Indian minister emphasized that "India's emergence as an important economic and industrial power and our success in overcoming the challenges of poverty and backwardness bequeathed to us by colonial exploitation owes in no small measure to our fruitful cooperation with the Soviet Union, which was initiatied with the setting up of the Bhilai steel plant over 30 years ago."

"A time-tested relationship," Rao said, "is based on a firm foundation of sincere friendship, trust, understanding and mutually advantageous cooperation. India and the Soviet Union have a convergence or similarity of views on major international issues, and on the vision of mankind's future.

"We have been constructively cooperating in various international fora to promote the cause of peace, disarmament and development," the minister said. "It is a matter of considerable pride and satisfaction that our joint efforts have made their contribution to making the world a safer and better place to live in."

USSR Seeking To Defuse Dispute Over Rushdie

NC0803113989 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] The Soviet Union is actively seeking resolution of the crisis that has emerged in relations between the world of Islam and the West following the publication of the book "The Satanic Verses" by British author Salman Rushdie. In relation to this, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his Spanish counterpart held a meeting in Moscow recently and exchanged views. This issue was also discussed during the conference of the foreign ministers of Europe, the United States, and Canada in Vienna.

The Soviet public supports these political talks which conform with the spirit of new thought and with the need to separate ideological issues from relations among governments.

The situation that has been created with the publication of "The Satanic Verses" is the result of ideological issues and differences transferred to the scene of relations among countries. This approach has led to the severance of relations between Iran and some West European countries.

If a logical solution is not found, this political crisis between the world of Islam and the West can have an unforeseeable impact. The truth is that both in the Islamic world and in the West, circles with not very sagacious and responsible approaches are becoming involved in this conflict. Fanatacism on the one hand, and pride on the other can push relations among countries toward a dangerous edge. [passage omitted]

In the world today, various geopolitical theses are propounded which [word indistinct] old and newly-emerged molds—theses like the one that alleges that the Near East and the Middle East are vital areas for the United States, or that the Persian Gulf is a U.S. lake.

Under such conditions, it is not surprising to see how incidents like the publication of "The Satanic Verses" can become a pretext for an acute political crisis in the relations between Islamic countries and the West. It is not surprising that the problems that stem from these incidents are solved with difficulty. However, the solution of these problems should be sought in a humane [word indistinct] and civilized relations.

In Iran Addicts, Medical Shortages Encourage AIDS

NC0803090589 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] According to figures published by the WHO, five cases of AIDS were recorded in Iran last year. Moreover, on the basis of figures published by Iranian sources, 450 people with this deadly disease have been registered in the country.

Health experts believe that the virus of this disease was transferred into the blood of these victims with the transfusion of blood purchased by Iran until the year 1985. Laboratory blood tests on (?1,020 hemophiliacs) showed that about 14 percent of them carry the AIDS virus.

Observers believe that the absence of an effective campaign in the country, the absence of a sufficient number of laboratories and medical centers where tests for the AIDS virus can be carried out, and the large number of addicts are all conditions that facilitate the spread of this dangerous disease.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Namibia Situation 'Difficult' Despite UN Role

PM0803091189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

[Vladimir Tyurkin dispatch under the rubric "Correspondent Comments": "Roses and Thorns"]

[Text] Luanda—Clouds of change are hovering over Windhoek. Signs of impatient expectation are increasingly palpable in the Namibian capital.

The first "blue berets" can be glimpsed on the streets—the advance detachment of the command of the UN group army and police subunits backing Namibia's transition to independence has already contacted the South African authorities on the location and deployment of three battalions of military personnel and UN police and civilian specialists, who are to help fulfill UN Security Council Resolution 435 granting independence to Namibia.

In this situation one can only welcome the statement by General J. Heldenhuis, commander in chief of the RSA Defense Forces, to the effect that Pretoria will observe the agreed schedule for the evacuation of its troops from Namibia. It has pledged, so it is understood, to reduce the numerical strength of its troops to 12,000 men 6 weeks after 1 April and then to 1,500 men by election day in November.

But in my opinion this statement, which is positive in itself, only reflects the fact that the occupying power seems reconciled to the inevitable: The process of transforming colonial southwest Africa into independent Namibia has become irreversible and the rules of play must be observed. The problem henceforth moves into a different sphere—what is meant by "independence."

The South Africans' practical actions in Namibia leave no doubt that the RSA would like to reduce the whole matter to replacing the flag and the coat of arms on the state stamps. They want to see people in power who will ensure that Namibia is a state "friendly" to the RSA, that is, an appendage and private domain for its monopolies.

The zeal with which Pretoria is endeavoring to employ the remaining time is worthy of better application. Psychological warfare has been unleashed against the population of Namibia. The army is organizing rallies where free drink is handed out and propaganda movies are shown, aimed against the South-West Africa People's Organization. The strike forces of reaction, the puppet parties and groupings, fighters, and "death squads" are preparing for the election campaign.

There are reports that southwest Africa's 35,000 "native" territorial forces, which should, according to Resolution 435, be disbanded, will nevertheless receive full pay until independence. The kindling of separatist sentiments in the north and south of Namibia—in the Caprivi Strip, Kaokoland, and in individual zones in the south where South African settlers live—prompts caution.

In short, the situation in Namibia is difficult, and the realities in this country by no means prompt euphoria.

Soviet-Mozambican Cooperation Panel Meets

PM0503182989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] The fifth session of the Soviet-Mozambican intergovernmental commission on economic and technical cooperation and trade was held in Moscow 27 February-3 March.

During the talks there was a detailed analysis of the state of Soviet-Mozambican trade and economic relations, prospects for their further development were assessed, and appropriate documents were signed.

Angolan Ambassador Ending Moscow Tour

PM0703100389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] A.L. Adamishin, USSR deputy foreign minister, gave a luncheon in honor of J.C. Augusto, ambassador of the People's Republic of Angola, on 3 March in connection with his final departure for home.

Togolese President Greeted on National Day

PM2702140189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] To mark the Togolese national holiday—Indepen dence and National Liberation Day—the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has sent Togolese President General G. Eyadema a telegram conveying congratulations and best wishes to the country's leadership and the Togolese people. The telegram expressed the hope that the mutual desire of the Soviet Union and Togo to develop friendship and cooperation will make it possible to strengthen the good relations between the two countries for the sake of the triumph of peace and progress.

A reply telegram from President G. Eyadema expressed gratitude for the congratulations and sent wishes for happiness and prosperity to the friendly Soviet people.

East Europe

CSSR Army Chief of Staff Concludes Visit

Meets With Yazov, Moiseyev

PM0303154589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Mar 89 First Edition p1

[Unattributed report under the general heading: "Official Visit"]

[Text] On 1 March Colonel General M. Vacek, chief of General Staff of the Czechoslovak People's Army, arrived in the Soviet Union on an official friendly visit at the invitation of Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister.

The guest was met at Sheremetevo Airport by Army General M.A. Moiseyev and other USSR Defense Ministry officials.

Those present included Major General J. Mrazek, military and air force attache to the CSSR Embassy in the Soviet Union.

The CSSR and USSR state flags were raised at the airport and a guard of honor was formed on the airfield.

On the same day Colonel General M. Vacek was received by Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister.

In the afternoon the guest from Czechoslovakia visited Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister. During the conversation they discussed questions of mutual interest.

Army General M.A. Moiseyev gave a dinner in honor of Colonel General M. Vacek.

Colonel General M. Vacek, chief of the Czechoslovak People's Army General Staff, laid a wreath at the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum. A wreath was also laid at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin wall.

On 2 March Colonel General M. Vacek visited an Air Force unit in Kubinka, where he was acquainted with combat equipment and attended demonstration flights.

On the same day the guest from Czechoslovakia visited the USSR Armed Forces General Staff K.Ye. Voroshilov Military Academy. Colonel General M. Vacek was acquainted with its training materials base and the organization of the teaching process and met Czechoslovak students studying at the academy.

Talks With Carpathian Official

PM0703162989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Mar 89 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Visit Ends"]

[Text] On 5 March Colonel General M Vacek, chief of the Czechoslovak People's Army General Staff, who is on an official friendly visit to our country, visited a Carpathian Military District unit. The Czechoslovak visitor was familiarized with the life and activities of the Soviet troops and attended a tactical drill.

On the same day Colonel General V. Skokov, commander of the Carpathian Military District, gave a dinner in Col Gen M. Vacek's honor.

That afternoon Col Gen M. Vacek left for home.

RUDE PRAVO Reacts to Soviet Observer

PM0603113989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 5 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "On a RUDE PRAVO Note"; first paragraph is SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA introduction; for article referred to in first paragraph, see page 32 of the 22 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT]

[Text] **On 18 February our newspaper carried under the rubric "Observer's Opinion" an article by E. Ryabtsev in which the APN political observer shared his impressions from a recent trip to Czechoslovakia. This article was summarized 2 days later by RUDE PRAVO, organ of the CPCZ Central Committee. The material gave rise to an ambiguous response in the CSSR. Proof of this is offered by the following TASS report.**

Prague—The newspaper RUDE PRAVO published under its "Replies to Readers' Letters" rubric a note which says:

On Monday, 20 February our newspaper published a report on an article by APN political observer E. Ryabtsev containing his impressions from a trip to Czechoslovakia. "It seems to me that this well-known Soviet journalist has written about us in a highly superficial fashion," RUDE PRAVO reader Rudolf Dusanek from Prerov remarked in a letter to the editorial office. Our report generated a similar response from many other readers. Some of them ask how they are to perceive the opinion expressed by the Soviet journalist.

What can be added to the report on the Soviet journalist's impressions from his brief trip to our country? The author himself warns in his article, published by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, that "my brief stay in Czechoslovakia prevents me from analyzing in detail all that I have seen and heard...." The SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA editorial office, by publishing his article under the "Observer's Opinion" rubric, thus emphasized that the material may not coincide with the editorial office' viewpoint.

For our part, we published a report on this article under the rubric "It Is Said and Written"—a report which also does not reflect the editorial office' opinion. This rubric carries only additional views by foreign commentators on international politics and events, including events in Czechoslovakia. This report does not express the RUDE PRAVO editorial office viewpoint and the newspaper did not comment on it, believing that it was just a matter of additional information for our readers.

Some readers ask the following question in the context of the report on the APN political observer's article: Should some of the opinions expressed by the Soviet journalist be taken as expressing the official viewpoint? But the fact that SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carried this article under the "Observer's Opinion" rubric speaks for itself. It is a matter of the writer's opinion.

[Signed] RUDE PRAVO

Levin, Agayants on Nemeth-Gorbachev Talks

LD0503014389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1745 GMT 4 Mar 89

[From the "World in the Mirror of Events" program presented by Nikolay Agayants and Viktor Levin]

[Excerpts] [Levin] I think that the visit to Moscow by Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth merits particular attention. This visit and the meetings and talks which took place—Comrade Nemeth talked with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov—reflected the fundamental issues concerning not only Soviet-Hungarian relations but relations among all socialist countries. [passage omitted]

[Levin] Hungary is going through a difficult time. Difficult tasks face the economy, and political problems are acute. It is clear that this cannot be resolved by traditional methods. Boldness is needed, something out of the ordinary, innovation.

[Agayants] Let us look at the conversations which took place in Moscow. Of fundamental importance, in my view, are Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's words that every ruling communist party resolves its tasks in accordance with its historical conditions and national values, that it is sovereign in drawing up its own policy.

[Levin] Absolutely right, Nikolay Ivanovich. And these are not just words. This is a fundamentally new approach to relations among fraternal parties, to their experience. Miklos Nemeth also said that the visit would become part of the tradition of meetings between the heads of the Soviet and Hungarian Governments; however, the Hungarian prime minister said he had a feeling that neither the conditions of our era nor the subject and spirit of the talks could be called traditional.

[Agayants] Of course, this is dictated by life itself. Today the socialist countries—we should be talking not only about the Soviet Union and Hungary—are joining forces not only to deal with some specific task or another but to develop a new model of socialist society meeting the demands of the time and aspirations of our peoples, and which is worthy of the lofty ideals of socialism.

[Levin] Here, of course, old methods are not suitable. I don't want people to think that I am saying that for more than 40 years we and the fraternal countries have been going the wrong way, in the wrong direction. Of course not. A great deal has been achieved and we can and should be proud of that. I repeat, however, that life is posing new tasks, very much out of the ordinary.

[Agayants] I agree, Viktor Nikolayevich, we have good activists. However, distortions have also made themselves felt, and therefore we now need to restore the democratic basis for life which is inherent to socialism, and to find through honest and open dialogue new forms of political and socioeconomic organization.

[Levin] The Hungarian comrades are making decisions which at times fit in so little with the former canons that they give rise to feelings akin to shock. I know that some of our listeners ask: How can this be? The MSZMP is refusing to enshrine in the Constitution a clause concerning its leading and guiding role. The Hungarian friends explain that this principle should not be proclaimed, but should be put into practice, should be systematically backed by specific actions for the good of the people. Because we were at one time calling for Moscow to be made a model communist city, the city lost its structure. It was precisely during these years that we got the decline in all industries in the city economy that we are unable to get rid of to this day.

[Agayants] So you have to be something rather than pass yourself off as being something. It seems that one other idea expressed by Comrade Nemeth should be noted: He said that in order to renew the cooperation machinery within the CEMA framework, rapid and practical measures are needed. Declarations are not going to help now.

[Levin] All socialist countries have an interest in that.

* Hungary's Grosz Cited on Multiparty System

WA18070534 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Russian No 9, 1 Mar 89 p 9

[Article by A. Melnikov, TASS correspondent in Budapest: "Hungary: A Difficult Month"]

[Text] It has been very many years since Hungary has experienced such a storm of events as rained down on it in February. Its beginning was marked by an onslaught of discussions concerning the events of 1956. To everyone's surprise they were called a "popular uprising" by MSZMP Politburo member and Hungarian Minister of State Imre Pozsgay and after him many scholars and public figures. For a small number of Hungarians in whose memory the national tragedy still lives, it is still only a counterrevolution, an outbreak of terror.

Why is it just now that people have begun speaking openly and passionately about events of more than 30 years ago? The MSZMP Central Committee Plenum on 10-11 February promised to give an answer to this question. One can guess how heated the discussion was from the fact that the plenum was closed and the meetings lasted until late in the evening.

From a long interview with Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, published after the plenum it became clear that the discussion of the Central Committee members concerning historical evaluations ultimately developed into a frank discussion of the understanding of the political situation in the country. The Hungarian party leader announced that on the basis of the analysis of the lessons of 1956 and taking current political and economic difficulties into account, the plenum had come to the following conclusion: The mechanism of socialist pluralism is now impossible within the framework of a one-party system. Based on this the MSZMP Central Committee became the initiator of a changeover to a multiparty system. I do not think, noted K. Grosz, that a multiparty system in and of itself will be a guarantee against a repetition of mistakes and extremes on a subjective basis. But with such a system the parties will be under mutual control. And the competition between them will require greater effort and stricter observance of the moral and political norms and the new style of work.

Having ended up a week later at a party conference in the 20th district of Budapest (incidentally, any passer-by could have followed its proceedings on the television monitor), I heard about how the rank-and-file communists had called for arranging ties with local groups of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Social Democratic Party, and the Union of Free Democrats.

If they ignore the alternative groups or even begin a war with them they will not get rid of their problems. Most likely another one will appear: increased political tension and open uprisings against the authorities. At the same time if the most dissatisfied are enlisted in solving the crucial problems and are given the opportunity not only to criticize but also to bear the burden of responsibility, even if just in certain sections, things will undoubtedly be better. This is with the stipulation that the collaboration be carried out only with forces that openly declare their agreement with the socialist system.

In light of what we have seen it is not difficult to understand the logic of another February plenum, which was held during the second half of the month. Speaking at it, the secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, Gyorgy Fejti, announced that while refusing to strengthen its leading role in the new constitution soon to be adopted, the MSZMP will continue in the future to try to be the determining factor in social processes. Thus the party's leading role should be provided not by legal norms but through its program, political work, and the winning of the society over to its side.

Indeed, not slogans but real improvement of things, above all in the economy, is determining the fate of the party today and the faith of the broad masses in socialism. In the eyes of the "silent majority" the main measure of the success of the political course is still improvement of well-being. It is no surprise that the current political storm has occurred shortly after the forced sharp price hike in January, which brought the standard of living of the population down below the indicators for the end of the seventies.

But still one cannot say that today's difficulties have pushed the masses to large-scale strikes and demonstrations. There are not especially large numbers of people at meetings of "alternative offerers." For in spite of everything, the shelves of the stores are full and the majority of the population lives in conditions that are certainly not bad. The people understand that it is socialism and the communists that have helped them create these benefits and achieve national reconciliation after the tragedy of 1956.

* Letter Seeks Survivor of 1956 Unrest

WA18300384 Moscow TRUD in Russian 26 Feb 89 p 3

[Ye. Shulyukin report: "Respond, Jozsef Farkas"]

[Text] I wanted to write a letter to Jozsef Farkas. I shall explain why below. But unfortunately I do not know his address and do not even know whether he is alive and well.

I met him on a dreary February day in 1957 at the Otto Korvin hospital in Budapest. He was there being treated for his wounds. Strange as it may seem, we became acquainted thanks to a French picture journal, PARIS MATCH. It had published a photo report on the shooting of soldiers guarding the building of the Budapest city party committee. The pictures were presented like the frames of a movie film showing the second-by-second death of the people.

There they are in their uniforms but without their hats, their hands held up high and looking down the muzzles of automatic weapons. The shots ring out, and they stagger back from the bullets as they hit them, then fall to the ground. Finally, the bodies on the roadway, now feeling nothing but spilling out their blood. For the bourgeois journal those doing the shooting were "Hungarian freedom fighters" and the victims "the hated executioners from state security." That was how the events of that time were presented by bourgeois propaganda.

I went to Hungary as a special correspondent for the newspaper TRUD. And once, I looked at those pictures in PARIS MATCH with an interpreter. "Stop, stop," cried the interpreter, pointing to one youth. "Look in the extreme upper left of that photograph. I have seen him somewhere quite recently." It was Jozsef Farkas.

After a short search we found ourselves at the hospital. Before us lay a fine lad, tall, broad-shouldered, with intelligent, striking eyes. He was already walking about the ward even though he had been wounded in the spine and face.

His story can still be found in my notebook.

A small detachment of troops from the Ministry of Internal Affairs was assigned to guard the party committee building. There were 45 of them, recent draftees. They had left their machine tools and plows to join the army.

On 30 October the city party committee building was surrounded by a large crowd of armed people. They opened fire. But the soldiers had been ordered not to answer the fire. The insurgents raised their weapons and fired at point blank range and then rushed into the premises. The forces were unevenly matched. Many soldiers perished or were wounded. The eight who remained alive were disarmed and led out into the square.

"They beat us with whatever they had," Jozsef Farkas told us. "I was hit in the face by a grenade and almost lost consciousness. We managed to take a few steps and then they shot at us. I felt a sharp blow in my back and crumpled to the ground. An old man leaned over me and shot me the face at point blank range. The bullet smashed three teeth and exited through the cheek. Blood poured from my nose and mouth. I remained conscious the whole time but felt that my strength was ebbing away. Suddenly I sensed that someone was bending over me and saying quietly 'close your eyes, pretend you are dead. Hold on, I'll be back soon.'

"And in fact the stranger was soon back with another person. They had a stretcher. They lifted me up onto a truck standing at a nearby crossroads. The journey was torment. We were stopped several times and they wanted to finish me off. One bandit seized me by the throat and started to strangle me. But my rescuers were bold and strong lads and would not allow a wounded soldier to be further injured. So I arrived at the hospital.

"The wards were searched several times by so-called 'revolutionaries,' and they found some communists. The doctors and nurses protected the wounded people against reprisals."

I would like to tell about another meeting. This time within the walls of a prison. Two people were presented to the group of journalists—Miklos Dyeneshi and Ilona Toth. Dyenyeshi's past was stained by collaboration with the German fascists and he was a member of a Hungarian youth fascist organization. In 1946 he had been sentenced to 10 years in prison for war crimes.

Dyenyeshi's cutthroats checked the documents of passers-by. They stopped a construction worker, Istvan Kollar. He had with him documents showing who he was. But when they searched his pockets they found a photograph. When visiting his sister Istvan had been photographed in the officer's uniform of his brother-in-law. This was enough to seal the fate of the worker. They dragged him into the hospital building on Domonkos Street. There, a woman in a white gown—could it have been Ilona Toth?—injected some benzine into a vein.... The victim did not die so they finished him off by stabbing him in the heart.

There you have it: two episodes from many that have always remained in my memory. For the 2 months of the trip in the hard days of 1956 and the early part of the next year were not easy to experience.

The Western world shouted from every street corner about the "Soviet aggression," but in Hungary itself we saw how the counterrevolutionary wave, born out of justified dissatisfaction on the part of the working masses with the Stalinist regime, engulfed part of the working class and peasantry with its nationalistic crest.

The sobering up did not come immediately. But even in those days many Hungarians understood and were saying openly that the Soviet Army had come with an international mission, stretching forth its hand in fraternal support for the republic over which the threat of the restoration of capitalism hung. One veteran communist told me that if it had not been for the support of the Soviet troops, given at the request of the Hungarian Government led by Janos Kadar, there would have been

a repeat of the tragedy of 1919 when the imperialist forces stifled the Hungarian Republic. It was necessary to assess realistically the situation in the country in which for some 10 years before the "explosion in Budapest" those forces occupying top places had collaborated with fascist Germany. They reared up their heads, unleashing a "white terror" to which we, the Soviet journalists, were witnesses.

Why do I now engage in these recollections? In our times we have glasnost and the development of democracy and the natural desire of people, particularly young people, to glance back at history with the new facts at their disposal and under the conditions of free discussion, to think about past events. But at the same time one encounters attempts to cast doubt on everything and revise any fact of history.

There is now discussion in Hungary about the events of 1956, and the most contradictory opinions are being expressed: Some believe that it was a counterrevolution, others that it was a revolution.... Of course, it is the business of the Hungarian comrades themselves to investigate everything and provide answers to the questions that are of concern to the country's society.

At a recent MSZMP Central Committee Plenum a general description was offered: In 1956 the inability of the former leadership to effect renewal led to a political explosion. There was a real uprising, but right from the start there were also forces that were striving for restoration, and declasse and lumpen elements. From late October the counterrevolutionary actions increased....

The party commission on historical matters continues it work. It is suggested that events will still be made clear from the positions of historical truth.

I think that the Soviet people would be interested in knowing the opinion of those who were themselves part of that tragedy and in their subsequent fates. This is why, through the newspaper, I am asking this of Jozsef Farkas.

Polish Political 'Crisis' Continues

PM0703122589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Starukhin dispatch: "The Knot Must Be Unraveled. Debates on Most Acute Domestic Political Problems Are Continuing in Poland"]

[Text] Warsaw, 6 Mar—The "roundtable" has been under way for some 4 weeks now. Over the last few days the discussion has turned to questions linked with imparting greater independence to judicial organs and courts, improving the health service, resolving youth problems, developing pluralist forms of coalition party and state rule and the trade union movement, and the introduction of price and income indexes for the population.

Whereas it is more or less clear in the case of legal proceedings what would accord with the norms of a rule-of-law state, how, for instance, can this "index" be established in this complex crisis situation? Prices are rising, wages are rising at dozens of enterprises and even in sectors as a whole under the threat of strike action, the market is still in ferment, and inflation is gaining momentum. Such a paramount factor in public lethargy as the price and income policy is particularly complex and, as is well known, it was mainly owing to miscalculations in its formation that the previous government resigned a few months months ago. Steps are being taken to provide social security for the impoverished strata of the population. Average pensions and subsidies have increased from Z42,410 to Z53,330. Is that a lot? A car auction was held recently: Special-edition automobiles and standard vehicles came under the hammer for Z4-6 million. A bank note with a face value of Z20,000 has been put into circulation as of 1 March to ease reciprocal transactions.

There is, perhaps, nothing more mobile (in one direction alone, moreover) in Poland now than prices for goods, food products, and services. A Sunday newspaper at a newsstand these days costs Z50, whereas it used to cost Z30. Of course, a newspaper is no yardstick.... Prices for medicine have doubled; it has been announced that the cost of travel on public transport will double in April. Prices for milk, flour, bread products, meat, and meat products have risen. Virtually all this has happened within a short period—starting with the new year. One recent announcement states that rents have risen by virtually two-thirds. That is unglossed-over reality, that is the situation in which economic and other reforms are being implemented while the representatives of various forces, trends, and groups at the "roundtable" are endeavoring to secure national accord and elaborate real ways of improving, in particular, the country's economy.

The strikes are an extremely alarming feature of the current time. They are continuing. Transport workers in Piotrkow Trybunalski, for instance, staged a protest and for this reason workers from many production units were unable to get to work. Collectives from Zary's Water Supply and Sewage Administration organized a strike: The severed communications jeopardized the activity of various—sometimes very important—facilities. The collectives reached an agreement with the administration on a wage increase and returned to work, but the next day sausage appeared at a different price.... This is indeed a difficult knot to unravel! Society will not have any more goods and material assets at its disposal as a result of all this.... Because "it is only by producing more output that we can increase national income," TRYBUNA LUDU writes, "the dispute meanwhile is above all about meting out goods rather than creating them and does not take into consideration production and economic capacities." It is hard to add anything to what the newspaper has said.

Many people in Poland were literally stunned over the past few days by the escapades of students in Krakow.

Participants in the "roundtable" in Warsaw were debating conscientiously about legalizing the so-called "Independent Students Union," while at almost the same time young people were abandoning all restraint and organizing a political orgy at the walls of the Jagiellonian University.

The monument to Marshal I. Konev is an architectural work of art in Krakow—a city with a lofty historical culture. Troops under his command saved Krakow, which the Hitlerites had barbarically stuffed with explosives, from total destruction at the cost of many soldiers' lives. People erected a monument in gratitude to the Soviet soldiers. Youths, termed "students," desecrated the monument and the excesses assumed a clear anti-Soviet character. Some 39 militiamen were injured. The chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers received the Soviet ambassador and expressed regret over these totally illogical and senseless anti-Soviet actions on the part of illegal youth groupings.

Judging by newspaper, radio, and television articles Krakow "blushed for shame." J. Urban, government spokesman, described the incident in a pertinent fashion. This provocation undermines the foundations of the "roundtable," harms the agreements that the public is awaiting, and damages the development of freedom and democracy, he said.

Warsaw University students also "protested" this time. It is doubly grievous that the rallies and street processions were accompanied by the smashing of store windows and automobile windows and the destruction of the fronts of buildings....

It seems that all the problems have risen to the surface and become exacerbated in Poland today. Protracted contradictory debates are under way. Some people are demanding that another society—more than 2,000th in the succession—be legalized, while others are already begging for paper to publish the legalized "Solidarity's" newspapers and weeklies and others still are repeatedly demanding wage increases.... Time will tell. But to some extent the words that W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, uttered at a report-back and election party conference in the Pomeranian Military District may serve as a response. "People who were left in cozy inactivity for a long time, when it was really necessary to fight, want to grab us by the throat now that the party has speeded up its bold, pioneering, historic cause of change.... You constantly hear the words pluralism, democracy, and reform today. Those who who say them more often and more loudly consider themselves more modern.... However, we must not forget the words labor, discipline, and duty."

Some people seem to have forgotten these significant words and their exceptional significance.

Polish Trade Union Leader on Roundtable Talks

LD2602023889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 25 feb 89

[From the "Countries of Socialism" program presented by political observer Valeriy Korzin; interview with PZPR Politburo member Alfred Miodowicz by Korzin; place and date not given; Miodowicz speaks in Polish with superimposed Russian translation]

[Text] [Korzin] I think that, in many respects, objective circumstances, objective reality, and the ability to react flexibly and undogmatically to changes contributed to the PZPR Central Committee Plenum's decision on the official recognition of a possible opposition in the country. The probability of a diversity of trade union organizations and, in particular, the recognition of Solidarity, also follows from that decision.

If you remember, we have already held a conversation about this on our program—we spoke with Urban, the Polish Government's spokesman—and I think you would be interested to hear the point of view of the leader of the trade unions currently functioning in the country, Alfred Miodowicz, a member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo who, incidentally, voted against that decision at the plenum.

[Begin recording] [Korzin] Comrade Miodowicz, I conducted an interview with you roughly 1 and ½ years ago. In my opinion, you haven't changed since then. But what about your views on the situation in Poland? Have they undergone any changes? [video shows Miodowicz and Korzin speking in an office]

[Miodowicz] Outwardly I have changed when I look in the mirror, but my views haven't changed: They haven't gone bald, they've remained the same. I believe we are going in the necessary direction: It is necessary to change our economy, to make it more sensible and flexible.

[Korzin] The roundtable is currently under way. Evidently you have come here for a very short time, having torn yourself away from a session of the roundtable. What prospects do you see for this meeting?

[Miodowicz] There can be various results from the meeting. I am an optimist, and I don't want to say that all this won't take place, although that is also possible. I am certain that this is a chance for our society to reach an agreement. The party is promoting it: It is the initiator of actions which can give support to the whole of society so that life in our country can be better and more secure. I mean social security, of course. Fortunately, that is the only kind we can talk about now, with a certain amount of hope for the future. I hope that things will be easier for our children, too. We are at the very beginning of the road; it is difficult to foresee anything here. Hopes are high. I feel that all this must be interpreted as the start. Two or three years will show a lot. They will be very

difficult for our country, full of the turbulence of struggle, but demanding resolute steps from the government and the party. Resolute does not mean tough, but resolute in the sense of consistent, even if this would encourage some kind of short-term or protracted clash with the trade unions.

[Korzin] As far as I know, at the PZPR Central Committee Plenum you voted against the adopted decisions—in actuality, against the legalization, the recognition of Solidarity—but now you are discussing these issues at the roundtable. Is that some sort of change in your point of view?

[Miodowicz] Those are two different questions. The position adopted by the party exists and I, as a party member, am obliged to implement that position, despite the fact that I had, have, and shall have a different opinion on that issue. First of all, I am the leader of the trade unions and bear responsibility for their 7 million members. I believe that before it is adopted by a Central Committee plenum, such a decision should be discussed widely; you see, until then there existed one trade union at an enterprise, and now two arise unexpectedly. The trade unions see Solidarity as a union in competition with them—in competition, not in confrontation. It is probably good that it will be functioning.

[Korzin] Now a question about competition. What will be the result of competition between two trade unions at one enterprise? Each trade union, each trade union organization, will fight for workers rights; and that, as a rule, now takes the form of a fight for wage increases that lead to a deterioration in the country's situation. Won't that competition between two trade unions lead to an even greater deterioration of the situation in Poland?

[Miodowicz] That is a serious question. I can only say what such competition led to in 1981: to one trade union crushing the other. We will not go along with that this time. Therefore, we are talking about joint representation.

[Korzin] That is to say, these questions, evidently, have to be discussed at the roundtable as well.

[Miodowicz] Of course. The roundtable is the beginning of the road. But we should not spend all our time talking about Poland. Everybody has already learned how to pronounce fine words and to speak without bits of paper. If only we could also learn how to solve in practice the difficult problems of the Poles. After all, there are long lines, public anxiety, high prices, and inflation. Those are the problems. We are talking a great deal about these topics, and few people are getting down to solving these problems. The trade unions want to deal with this. I think that if we have trade union pluralism, there won't be two, in my opinion. There should be more than five trade unions: Then it will be possible to reach understandings on jointly solving the problems that have come to a head. [end recording]

[Korzin] As you obviously know, the roundtable meeting is intended to elaborate a common platform for cooperation among all the forces operating in the country. We shall, of course, return once more—and probably not just once—to see how the process of reforms in Poland is developing. [video shows Korzin in studio]

* Further Miodowicz Comments

WA180070544 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 25 Feb 89 p 7

[Interview with Alfred Miodowicz, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the All-Polish Council of Trade Unions, by Irina Pirogova: "An Important Examination For Us All"; date and place not given; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] **First of all, a few words about Alfred Miodowicz himself. He worked for 30 years at a blast furnace in Nowa Huta, and had never thought about a career as a trade union or party leader of such rank. His particular nonstandard thinking and his directness and ability to speak of serious matters with humor not only momentarily win over his interlocutor, but deprive the interviewer of the opportunity to hear banal answers to generally traditional questions. Our correspondent became convinced of this by her own experience.**

[Pirogova] Tell me, Comrade Miodowicz, your profession as a metallurgist, was that a family tradition or a personal choice?

[Miodowicz] I have been led by a principle, which, incidentally, I would not impose upon anyone else. When the time came for me to come into my own, I decided that it would not be a bad idea to get top pay for having an optimal education, and work in metallurgy presented just such an opportunity. Of course, it is hard to work around the furnaces, but this is a real man's job, and, to my understanding, it provided me with a certain stability: eight hours of work, eight hours of rest, eight hours of sleep, and a supplementary vacation.

This life suited me completely, and if I myself were the master of my own fate, I would not have wanted to change it. But during the process of democratic reforms, as soon as I was nominated for the post of trade union leader, of course I tried not to come in last, and to justify the trust of the people who voted for me. Incidentally, to be elected to a position of leadership in Poland, a party recommendation is not required, so even if I had not been a member of the PZPR, this would not have hindered my nomination.

[Pirogova] What has your life-line work experience done for your current activities? Has your experience helped?

[Miodowicz] I love free contact with people, I cannot dissemble in conversations with them, and I do not hide behind diplomatic phrases. When I meet with a man at his place of work, it would be silly to ask "How are you?"

standing at the blast oven. Of course it is hard for him, and the pretended sympathy of an empty functionary does nothing more than annoy him.

For me the most important thing is to work with a collective of like-thinking individuals who can dedicate themselves to the cause, even if they themselves are not directly involved with the labor professions. Within the leadership of our council, besides the chairman, there are seven more vice chairmen, and not one of us sits around in the offices, we are always mingling with production collectives. A trade union figure is not allowed to get fat and turn into a petty bureaucrat.

[Pirogova] The dominance of bureaucracy remains, as before, one of the sore points of the Polish renewal. It seems that you yourself once compared it with a hydra, and indeed, new heads, livelier ones, grow in replacement. What is the matter here? What should be the strategy and tactics of the struggle against this commonly acknowledged disease?

[Miodozicz] Complaints should be not be aired about specific bureaucrats. It seems to them that they honestly fulfill their functions, which are handed down from "on high." The tab should be presented to the leadership. If it has not created a system to fight with the bureaucracy, then there's no reason to blame the "pointsmen," who are in no position to fulfill the wisest government resolutions. The bureaucracy can be defeated by creating just such a system, and not by one-on-one fighting with individual people. Don't we know more than a few ministers who fret about the bureaucracy, and who cannot themselves manage their own ministry, generating reams of paperwork and directives which discredit concrete, useful matters and reforms?

Unfortunately, neither our party nor our trade unions are free of this ailment. Instead of radically freeing ourselves of spare "mouths to feed," we shuffle them around, setting them up in other very prestigious positions. As if this shift in position will change their philosophy and their method of government. And what is the result of this? The PZPR, acknowledging the difficulty of the country's economic condition, set forth serious problems requiring immediate resolution: the issue of provisions, the desperate housing shortage, inflation, health care, and ecology. But the bureaucratic machine is late getting its pies into the oven. It is very risky to entrust the realization of these problems to people who have not worked a day in production, who have not immersed themselves in the people's needs, even though they have scientific titles. This was confirmed by the referendum, which we essentially lost. The people did not agree to carry out severe economic reforms, did not support the proposed price and income policy, in particular, the idea of Professor Sadowski to stabilize the market with the assistance of high prices and salary limits. This is why we, the trade unions, feel that prices must be approached more carefully. Their increase will not bring goods to the market. We are for optimal, and later maximal salaries, with no limits. This is natural for rational activity and productive labor, having finished with the outmoded fear of unemployment, which breeds wage-leveling and unqualified, unconcerned labor. We will find a place in other branches for all who are without work. Labor productivity, we are already certain, is stimulated not by slogans, appeals, and points of competition, but by labor organization and high pay. Create these conditions for man, and the results are guaranteed.

The clash of these two concepts led to dramatic results. The previous government retired, and a new cabinet came to power, headed by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, who considered it necessary that one of his first visits be with the leadership of our trade union. It is good news that for the first time, the government was viewing us as an independent public force. It accepted the program which we we insisted upon for 3 years (I spoke of this earlier). Now we have common goals—although, for example, in the Sejm we voted against one of the government's resolutions. This was not because we are against M. Rakowski and his cabinet; it was to impel the government to more energetic action. We have "unanimously" followed the straight line for a long time now, without noticing where that line really leads.

[Pirogova] Thus, the manifestation of pluralism, the attempts to listen to and understand those who think differently or, let us say, not quite the way that the state trade union thinks: This, you feel, is an inevitability! I have the Solidarity union in mind.

[Miodowicz] In my day, I and 60 percent of the members of our trade union belonged to the Solidarity union. I think that there are reasons for the appearance of a second trade union organization in our country. We must give it the chance to act, and to see whether in practice, the Solidarity union, just as, incidentally, any other autonomous trade union, can function in the current situation. The facts must be soberly evaluated. We have already heard enough verbal and printed utterances about Walesa being, to put it politely, a mediocre front man, that he does not have his own voice, that he is no partner in political discussions and that in general, he is not enough. But there is no getting away from the fact that he is a Nobel Prize laureate and that the Solidarity union is a public movement with a base in many enterprises. True, until recently its trade union program was unknown to us. However, we became acquainted with it and saw that the tasks it sets are almost the same as ours. But the one thing that we both lack is effectiveness. This will never be generated by discussions and talks alone. This is exactly what I fear. For example, we will agree on some sort of "roundtable," will find a common language with the Solidarity union, and the working people will go their way. After all, if everything remains at the freezing point, then the people will go with neither Miodowicz nor Walesa.

It is no accident that a deep fissure has now been noticed in the Solidarity union. Walensa presents his group as intellectualist, "moderate" types, and an extremely radical youth has now grown up. Its program, to repeat our trade union position, is absolutely anticommunist.

[Pirogova] What are your impressions of your televised dispute with Walensa?

[Miodowicz] Later, many complained to me that I did not attack Walesa. But you cannot extend one hand to a man and bash his head in with the other. In my opinion, Walesa is a man of business, a thinking, realistic man, and, pleasantly enough, a man not without a sense of humor. I did not betray my principles, and spoke with him as directly as I am speaking with you. Walesa was surprised by this. He came to the program with a text of his speech, but after sensing that there would be no squabbles or dirty tricks, he decided not to use it. How could I have behaved otherwise? The television viewers saw Miodowicz more than once, as an "intermission," and Walesa lasted 7 years. Later, it was strategically important to help people see that this is our compatriot—a man not out of the ordinary, and that in the near future he will be a partner in our trade union.

[Pirogova] There are 1.7 million members of the PZPR in the All-Polish Council of Trade Unions. How does this influence its activities?

[Miodowicz] We have been in for 6 years already, and PZPR Central Committee First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski has always actively supported us in all our intentions and activities, which are directed toward giving people more to show for their life and work, preventing our youth from leaving to seek their fortune in the West, and preventing pride in Poland from diminishing. Therefore, that which directs us is a constant link with the party. We may have differences in our approaches to various problems, but there will never be different goals and paths to their attainment. We are the class trade unions.

These times are an important examination for the party and for all of us. But I am convinced that we and the party will pass it.

Causes, Results of Kosovo Unrest Assessed

PM0703143389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by own correspondent L. Kolosov under the rubric "Events: Substance and Opinions": "The Cost of Strike Action"]

[Text] Belgrade—In the autonomous province of Kosovo, life is gradually getting back to normal. Virtually every enterprise, mine, store, and hospital is operating, while higher education establishments and schools have opened their doors. Television recently showed a picture to gladden the heart: a tiny little girl skipping to her first class—she could have been either a Serb or a Montenegrin. A few days ago many parents were still hiding their children where they could not be found.

The special measures introduced in Kosovo are still in force. Major General Andrija Silic, commanding officer of the Yugoslav People's Army corps, talked in an interview of the high morale of servicemen sent to Kosovo and of the deep respect shown them by the local population. But the tanks are still in the streets at present.

The inciters have gone underground. Three arrested Albanian nationalists and separatists—A. Vlasi, A. Abrasi, and B. Kavaja—who were responsible for initiating the present Kosovo disturbances, are now in jail. They have been charged under Article 139 of the SFRY Criminal Code. Under this article, people whose actions have led to serious violence, caused great damage to the economy, and jeopardized the safety of the population have charges brought against them.... The punishment under this article ranges from 10 years imprisonment to the death penalty.

So where are the other inciters? At the moment, no one knows. But the scenario for turning the autonomous province into an "ethnically pure Kosovo" and the plans for knocking together a future "Greater Albania" were very carefully worked out and obviously involved more than two or three people in the conception process. The newspaper POLITIKA has published a photocopy of one of the checks by which money intended for Albanians who did not want to come up out of the mine was transferred to a branch of the Ljubljana Bank in Pristina. The director, Hasan Berisa, who incidentally is a member of the League of Communists of Kosovo Provincial Committee, organized a rally in support of the strikers.

At present Azem Vlasi, former member of the League of Communists of Kosovo Provincial Committee Presidium who is now in jail, is seen as the most prominent figure among the instigators of the events. The newspaper VECERNJE NOVOSTI is conducting its own investigation into the activities of A. Vlasi under the title "Director Sticks to the Script." On 14 February Vlasi appeared in the capital of Slovenia, Ljubljana (where a rally was later held "in support of the strikers"), and spoke with several local functionaries. The next day he was already in Pristina (Kosovo), meeting representatives of the mass media which publish in Albanian. This was followed by a conversation with Albanian students at the Pristina student center. All this was done in secret, following all the rules of conspiracy....

Economists are now sadly counting up the cost of the Kosovo events. The strikes have cost a great deal of money. TANJUG has reported that, according to preliminary figures, the 8-day "hunger strike" cost 10 billion dinars. This is a lot of money for an economically backward province. To this must be added: the interrupted routine of life and work of the 2 million people

living in Kosovo, the damage to the health of hundreds of miners, and, most important, the thousands of people deceived by Albanian nationalists and separatists.

*** Article Reviews Yugoslav Problems, Background**
WA18070513 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 6, 11-17 Jan 89 p 6

[Article by TASS correspondent V. Brestov: "Overcoming Discord and Estrangement"; first paragraph is ARGUMENTY I FAKTY introduction]

[Text] The tense situation in Yugoslavia in recent months is described here for the readers of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY by TASS correspondent V. Brestov.

Today's Yugoslavia could be portrayed graphically as a map with the "lights" of political "fires" gleaming in several spots: rallies and demonstrations, strikes, and the resignations of individual politicians and whole party and state organs. Events are changing with literally kaleidoscopic speed. Here is a brief chronology.

How These Events Took Shape

In the beginning of October 1988 there was unrest in Vojvodina, part of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. Public demonstrations in Novi Sad led to the resignation of the leadership of the autonomous province.

That same month the country was shocked by demonstrations in Montenegro—and they were followed by the resignation of this republic's government. A state of emergency was declared in Montenegro.

In many parts of the country there were public rallies in support of the Serbs and Montenegrins living in Kosovo, who were being subjected to constant pressure by the Albanians there. In response to these rallies there were 5 days of demonstrations in Pristina, the main city in Kosovo, by the Albanians who represent the majority of the population of this autonomous province.

Public demonstrations in downtown Titograd this January resulted in the resignation of the party and state leadership of Montenegro.

In addition to all of this, there was another event unprecedented in the country's postwar history: the collective resignation of the Government of the SFRY, the Federal Executive Council, just a few days before the end of 1988.

"Street" Democracy

This is a time of direct action by the broad popular masses in modern Yugoslav history. Public demonstrations in the streets, rallies, and other gatherings have become part of national politics. Economic and political demands are usually made at the demonstrations, but there have also been some extremist slogans and attacks on Yugoslav leaders and individual republics.

Not all Yugoslavs regard "street democracy" as a method of solving problems. For example, BORBA has questioned the validity of current steps such as the collective resignations and the demands for the dissolution of party organs. An article in this newspaper reminded the readers that the Central Committee of the republic League of Communists or the LC provincial committee can only be elected or dissolved by a republic party congress or an LC conference in an autonomous province.

Nevertheless, although the involvement of the public in politics has aggravated the situation in the country, it has provided momentum for stepped-up reforms in the society and the party, and has raised precise questions, even naming specific names, about the responsibility of many leaders for the current situation.

The laboring public cannot accept a situation in which the majority of the population can hardly make ends meet because of the constantly declining standard of living while painstaking attempts are made to conceal the endless series of scandals involving prominent party and state officials guilty of corruption, graft, and abuses of office. The latest example was the construction of luxurious villas with state funds in the small town of Neum on the Adriatic coast. This was done by people who occupied high positions in the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina.

Three Reforms

"Yugoslavia," Zagreb's VJESNIK commented, "stands helplessly before the broken mirror of its own illusions after deceiving itself for decades with the semblance of a social, economic, political, and national idyll only to be confronted today by an historic challenge. Our entire political system needs radical reform." Although the reassessment of the Yugoslav model of the self-governed socialist society is a painful process, it is making some headway. The search for ways of emerging from the current crisis led to a realization of the need for three reforms: in the economy, the political system, and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

The main purpose of the economic reform is the creation of a market economy with state "patronage." There is special hope for this reform because the state of the economy is still pitiful. The new government will inherit a mountain of problems: the slump in industrial production, the declining standard of living, high unemployment, foreign debts, and the main problem—inflation, which literally "devours" even the slightest positive advances in the economy. The government of B. Mikulic was unable to curb it—the rate of inflation in 1988 was 250 percent instead of the projected 90-95 percent. Forecasts are also disturbing. The country's leading

economists believe that the rate of inflation could reach 500-600 percent. The prices of several thousand foods and other products rose at once at the beginning of this year. Bread, flour, and milk prices rose again just recently.

Overcoming Discord in the Party

The reform of the LC appears to be central issue, because the key to social reforms is in the hands of the LCY.

This is why the 20th LCY Central Committee Plenum was the main recent political event in Yugoslavia. Pointed references to "the danger of a complete split" and "a crisis which has reached the boiling point" were made at the republic party organization plenums preceding the party forum.

What is the current situation? The 17th party plenum held last October clearly revealed the actual alignment of forces in the LCY, now distinguished by the diametrically opposed positions of individual republics and the confrontations of their leaders, and the resulting threat of a serious split in the party.

These differences had become even more pronounced by the time of the 20th plenum. The current chairman of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, S. Suvar, was the main target of the criticism. A special party conference of the LC in Vojvodina demanded his resignation and the convening of a special LCY congress. These demands were supported by the presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee.

This led to more pronounced differences between Serbia on one side and Slovenia and Croatia on the other. A secret ballot at the 17th LCY Central Committee Plenum gave a vote of confidence to all members of the Central Committee Presidium with the exception of Serbian Chairman D. Skrebic, which evoked extremely negative reactions from the Serbian leadership. Slovenia and Croatia responded by indirectly accusing the Serbian leaders of fomenting the events in Montenegro and fueling nationalist emotions.

This was the reason for the statement made by Secretary S. Korosec of the LCY Central Committee Presidium: "The 20th plenum must put an end to the dangerous estrangement of nationalities that has already seized the LCY and its Central Committee." According to VJESNIK, "the fire of political warfare has engulfed all of the organs, organizations, and institutions of the system. The plenum must tell us where the country is going."

It is the consensus that the 20th plenum was unable to answer this question directly. Many passionate and extremely frank speeches were made. Virtually everything was discussed: the state of the economy, the dissatisfaction of the laboring public (last year there were almost 2,000 strikes in the country, with around 360,000 people taking part in them), the deterioration of international relations, and the continued existence of the explosive situation in Kosovo. The main theme of each speech, however, was probably the word "unity," without which all of the reforms which are intended to lead the country out of the protracted state of crisis will be only partially effective. "The need to surmount discord and estrangement—the most essential condition for any kind of progress—must take precedence over all of the conflicts," the TANJUG agency commented in its report on the plenum.

Anniversary of Romanian 'Democratic' Rule Noted

PM0703162789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Mar 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Paths of Transformation"]

[Text] Bucharest, 6 Mar—The Romanian people today celebrate the 44th anniversary of the formation of the first democratic government in the country's history. On 6 March 1945 a democratic government headed by Petru Groza came to power as a result of the struggle of the broad people's masses under the RCP's leadership. For the first time in Romanian history the decisive role in the government was played by representatives of the working people's masses.

Placed in power through the revolutionary will of the masses organized and led by the RCP, the new government fundamentally changed the political regime, tirelessly moving Romanian society down the road mapped out by the victory in August 1944, the newspaper ROMANIA LIBERA stresses.

The successful implementation of the revolutionary struggle during that period was decisively promoted by the favorable international conditions prevailing as a result of the Soviet Union's historic victories in World War II and the USSR's political support.

Military Chiefs Attend GDR Embassy Reception

PM0303163789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Mar 89 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "On the Occasion of an Anniversary"]

[Text] On 28 February the Military, Naval, and Air Attache at the GDR Embassy in the USSR Major General H. Unterdoerfel gave a reception on the occasion of the 33d anniversary of the foundation of the GDR National People's Army.

The reception was attended by Army General I.M. Tretyak, USSR deputy defense minister and commander in chief of the Air Defense Forces; Admiral of the Fleet A.I. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and

Navy Main Political Directorate; Marshal of the Soviet Union S.L. Sokolov; Marshal of the Soviet Union N.V. Ogarkov, and other generals, admirals, and officers of the Soviet Armed Forces.

Among the guests there were military, naval, and air attaches from a number of foreign embassies in the Soviet Union.

G. Koenig, GDR ambassador to the USSR, was also present.

Latin America & Caribbean

Ortega Comments on Approach to Opposition

LD0503145889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Our correspondent in Nicaragua, Yuriy Baranov, reports:

[Begin recording] [Baranov] Representatives of 14 Nicaraguan opposition parties have gone on a foreign tour. With what aim? Miriam Arguello, leader of the Conservative Party who has assumed the role of opposition spokesman, told journalists that the political opposition is worried that the Sandinists will not observe the obligations contained in the final document of the conference of Central American presidents in El Salvador on the creation of the necessary conditions for the involvement of opposition forces in the electoral process. The emissaries of the opposition intend to inform the Latin American public on this subject. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Announcer] Your correspondent asked the following question of the Nicaraguan president. What is the Sandinist government's approach to the opposition's demands at the current talks? He replied:

[Begin Ortega recording in Spanish fading into Russian translation] I have taken on an obligation and endorsed it with my signature in El Salvador. That is the starting point. The opposition parties must realize that the discussion must take place within that framework. One must focus attention on that and not put forward demands that are devoid of sense and that transcend the framework of the Salvador agreements. [end recording]

U.S., EC Differ in Approach to Central America

PM0603092589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Mar 89 First Edition p 5

[Pavel Bogomolov "Viewpoint": "Two Approaches"]

[Text] No substantial changes have as yet been observed in the White House' Central America policy—that is how the major U.S. press comments on the results of the recent meeting between G. Bush and President V. Cerezo of Guatemala. Indeed, the destabilization of revolutionary Nicaragua continues to occupy the main place in Washington's regional plans, as the dialogue between the two presidents confirmed. The U.S. commitment to the "resistance and freedom forces" in that country remains firm, the U.S. Administration's spokesman M. Fitzwater has stated.

The argument that Washington, by thwarting the intrigues of certain "external forces" in Central America, is defending the interests of the Western world as a whole, is very much in vogue on the Potomac this year. However, even the United States' close Western European allies are increasingly dissociating themselves from this confrontational course. The meeting of EEC foreign ministers with their colleagues from the Central American states and the countries of the Contadora Group in San Pedro Sula in Honduras was indicative in this respect. The results of this conference confirmed that the majority of the West European governments have their own opinion on the situation in the region.

As is well known, the Bush administration has so far refrained from a categorical and clear assessment of the accords on a peaceful settlement of the Central American conflict achieved at the recent meeting of the presidents of Nicaragua, Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica, and El Salvador. Furthermore, Vice President Quayle has expressed profound doubts on the Washington administration's behalf about the effectiveness of these agreements. According to him, the "Marxist-Leninist government of Nicaragua" cannot be trusted. In actual fact, many commentators are emphasizing that the White House is unhappy with the elaboration, begun on the basis of the regional accords, of the plan for the demobilization and voluntary repatriation of Nicaraguan contras. After all, these insurgents are the main implement of Washington's "undeclared war" against the Sandinist revolution.

As for the EEC countries, as the Honduras meeting showed, they on the whole take a positive view of the Central American leaders' peacemaking efforts and express support for the search for a settlement in the region. The constructive stance of West European diplomacy has plunged the Somoza rebels into panic. V. Montalban, representative of the "Nicaraguan resistance" leadership, feverishly urged the EEC ministers in San Pedro Sula to "think again." It reached the point where the contras envoy began openly threatening a new eruption of armed confrontation on Nicaragua's borders. By all accounts, however, Western Europe views its role in the modern world too responsibly to yield to such blackmail.

While Washington, which does not hide the particularly political purpose of its injections of dollars into Central America, gives help only to conservative governments, and primarily those dependent on the United States, the Common Market has reaffirmed its determination to continue financial and economic assistance to all countries of the region, including Nicaragua. The total of this aid ($216 million plus $180 million for the development of regional trade) may not be very great. But in this case the main point is not the sum but the principle. By

refusing to make assistance to Central American countries dependent on their social system and foreign policy orientation, Western Europe is thus confirming its unwillingness to follow Washington's lead on all matters. There is an element of interimperialist rivalry and competition in this stand, of course. But the main thing is the repudiation of the blind imitation of outdated and, most importantly, flawed political stereotypes.

Political & Social

Gorbachev, Ryzhkov Attend Women's Day Meeting

LD0703150789 Moscow TASS in English 1459 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 7 TASS—Representatives of party, government and public organisations began a meeting in Moscow's Bolshoy Theatre on Tuesday to celebrate international women's day.

In the presidium are Mikhail Gorbachev, Nikolay Ryzhkov and other party and state leaders.

The Soviet Communist Party Central Committee's message of greetings to Soviet women was read out at the celebration meeting. "The CPSU Central Committee states with gratitude that Soviet women enthusiastically support by word and deed the party's course towards perestroika," the message said.

Central Committee Hails Women's Day

LD0703191589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1355 GMT 7 Mar 89

["Text" of CPSU Central Committee greetings message on International Women's Day read by Natalya Mikhaylovna Andrianova, secretary of the Moscow Gorkom, at a meeting devoted to International Women's Day at the Bolshoy Theater in Moscow—live]

[Text] Dear women! On this glorious holiday, International Women's Day, 8 March, accept the most sincere and cordial congratulations from the CPSU Central Committee. You have earned great gratitude, deep respect, love, and appreciation for your steadfast care for the home and family, for bringing up children, for your loyalty and kindness, charity and wisdom. Your contribution to creating the material well-being and intellectual wealth of our society is considerable. Your activity in public affairs is illuminated by new frontiers in conditions of restructuring. The voice of Soviet women, who are firm and resolute supporters of peace, a voice calling the people of the earth, irrespective of their national and social status and irrespective of their political convictions, to live in harmony and mutual respect, can be heard throughout the planet.

The remarkable qualities of our women—endeavor and energy, industriousness and humanity—are particularly important in the present period of renewal of Soviet society so that the socialist structure can serve mankind to the full extent. The humane objectives of restructuring coincide with the innermost aspirations of Soviet people. The CPSU Central Committee notes with appreciation that, in their words and deeds, Soviet women are ardent supporters of the party's course of restructuring.

While giving your energy and civil stance its due, the CPSU Central Committee is, of course, well aware that the everyday life of a woman who is a worker and a woman who is a mother is still burdened with difficult concerns; society owes you a debt. Today, on this holiday, the party confirms that it will do everything it can to improve the lives and well-being of Soviet people, their living conditions, health care, and education, so that their lifestyle improves and a healthy way of life is established, so that the Soviet woman can fully combine happy motherhood with active participation in work and state affairs.

There are common objectives uniting all women on earth. They are love, well-being in the home, health and happiness for their children and loved ones, as well as peace on earth. We wish these cherished aims to be realized in the life of every woman.

Long live 8 March, the holiday of international solidarity among women of the planet! Honor and glory to the Soviet women! We wish you happiness, dear mothers, sisters, and friends!

[Signed] The CPSU Central Committee [applause]

Deputy Minister Reports at Meeting

LD0703175389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1358 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Report by USSR Deputy Culture Minister (Nina Prokofiyeva Selkova) at International Women's Day meeting in Moscow—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The contributions of women to communist construction and the creation of material and spiritual wealth and to the education of children have received the recognition of the whole people: Some 92 percent of women of working age in our country are either studying or are at work, making up more than half of the workers and office staff. No matter what sphere of activity we consider, there is practically none where women are not working. At present half a million women are leaders of enterprises, establishments, and organizations, and about 1 million are at the head of workshops, sections, and departments. Some 58 percent of engineers are women; 45 percent of agronomists, animal technicians, and veterinary workers are women; and 67 percent of doctors, 73 percent of teachers, 91 percent of librarians, and 40 percent of scientific workers are women. Nearly 3,500 women have the title of academician, corresponding member, or professor. Soviet women labour selflessly in every sector of socialist construction, and the fact that one out of every three awards of the Homeland for valiant labor is presented to a woman and that one in four Heroes of Socialist Labor is also a representative of the fair sex is clear confirmation of this. Eighty-one women, the best of the best, have been nominated candidate people's deputies. [passage omitted] It is perfectly clear that the economic, political, and cultural upsurge of our country cannot be imagined without the selfless labor of women. Yes, women today labor without being subjected to discrimination.

But restructuring and glasnost have also shone light on some complicated problems that directly concern the position of women in our society. Women account for more than 58 percent of those engaged in manual labor in industry. In the timber-processing, pulp and paper, glass, light, food, and printing industries they account for 30 and 50 percent. The proportion of manual labor is great in agriculture, particularly in such branches as field crop cultivation, vegetable growing, and market-gardening: In these areas 98 percent of those working are women. More than 4 million women in our country work on night shifts. [passage omitted]

Over the past few years alone there have been over 30 legal normative acts adopted on all these matters. But government decisions are being carried out at impermissible rates. For example, if the Ministry of Chemical Machine-Building continues to solve this problem at the same speed, then the last woman worker will leave harmful production 100 years from now. The norms for lifting weights have been officially reduced. But far from all have been freed of the need to move 10 and 15 tonnes of goods in a shift. Appeals to change state standards, if only for packaging for trade, have remained unanswered, and women shop assistants are still lifting 50-kg sacks and boxes. All of this is offensive both for the woman herself, and for society as a whole. Doctors draw a direct link between working conditions and physical loads with the increase in women's illnesses and the pathology of pregnancy and births. In solving these questions it is difficult to exaggerate the role of the public, and primarily of the women's councils which have started to monitor these vitally important problems and can break through the traditions which came about during the times of stagnation and the attitude to them according to the principle of inertia. [passage omitted]

The energy expenditure of a housewife and a worker engaged in physical labor are approximately equal, but the total weight of shopping she takes home in a year is equal to 2.5 tonnes. In carrying the housework she walks 12 km a day. These colossal physical and nervous strains are deforming woman's personality and her relationships with the members of the family, her husband and children.

The same sociologists say that women are able to find only 17 minutes each day for bringing up their children. What is to blame for this is not just the shortage of essential goods, the queues, and the poorly developed services sphere, but the level of mechanization of domestic labor as well. In our country this is five times lower than in developed countries. Let's admit honestly that the woman—our independent, emancipated, front-ranking woman, the hardiest in the world as one well-known satirist puts it with irony—is still much in need of protection, both within her own home and outside it. And when social conditions change for the better, then, to a large extent, irritation will disappear, women will shout less at their children, they will love their husbands tenderly, and will become much more beautiful, kinder, and more elegant. And these difficult problems can only be solved by a radical transformation of all aspects of social life, and this, too, is one of the most important tasks of restructuring. [passage omitted]

The women of the world are participating wholeheartedly in working out the new political thinking, which is making it possible to push back the danger of thermonuclear disaster and move over to the settlement of regional conflicts by peaceful means. With joy and happiness, mothers met their sons who had returned from Afghanistan. For 9 years Afghanistn was, perhaps, the greatest pain our women and the whole Soviet people had. At last they have been released from the aching worry over the fate of boys who for many years have been fighting and spilling their young blood on the sands and rocks of that distant country. The deaths of young soldiers called up into the Armed Forces in peacetime and who fell in battle at the other end of the world from where they were born has produced a sharp pain in the hearts of all our country's women.

Today the gaze of the peoples of the world is turned to Moscow, the bulwark and the hope of peace, to the land of the Soviets which is paving the way toward a world without nuclear weapons, towards the salvation of human civilization.

Gorbachev Congratulates Women's Journal on Jubilee

LD0803113289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 08 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Seventy-five years ago the first edition of the popular women's journal 'RABOTNITSA' was published. [passage omitted]

On its jubilee, the journal 'RABOTNITSA' received a letter of congratulations from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. Noting the journal's many years of work in educating women and in defending their interests, he wrote: It can be firmly said that there are today no tasks and immediate concerns put forward by the times which could be overcome without women's active and committed participation of women.

Upcoming Multicandidate Elections Viewed

LD0103143289 Moscow TASS in English 1153 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—On average, two candidates will run for every seat in the upcoming elections to the new Soviet parliament on March 26, according to a Soviet official.

Dmitriy Golovko, deputy head of the Central Electoral Commission, told a press conference on Wednesday that the commission has received information about the official registration of candidates in 1,400 out of the 1,500 Soviet constituencies. Full information about the registered candidates will be available in a few days time, he said.

Two candidates will compete for one seat in nearly 1,000 constituencies, and more than 200 have registered three or more candidates, Golovko said.

One in every four constituencies will have only one candidate.

Commenting on the candidates's status, Golovko said that more than 80 percent are Communist Party members, which is more than previous elections. Nearly forty percent of candidates are workers and farmers and one fifth are women.

Besides 1,500 deputies from regional constituencies, another 750 will, for the first time, represent Soviet public organisations in the country's supreme legislature, Golovko said.

The Soviet people are playing an active part in this campaign and have sent more than 7,000 letters and suggestions to the Central Electoral Commission in the last three months; a third of these letters were written in the last two weeks, during which regional elector meetings were held around the country, Golovko said.

The commission will analyse the current election campaign and submit suggestions to the Soviet parliament to improve the Soviet electoral law, which has some imprecisions that need further definition.

The overall returns of the March 26 elections will be made public not later than ten days after the voting, and the outcome of elections in separate constituencies will be available much earlier, Golovko said.

Should a candidate fail to win more than fifty percent of the vote, the next poll shall be held within two weeks. If there is only one candidate on the slate and he fails to win a majority, another election shall be held, Golovko explained.

USSR 'Heading for Elections,' Not Just Voting

LD0603221989 Moscow TASS In English 1950 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Boris Prokhorov commentary]

[Text] Moscow March 6 TASS—by TASS analyst Boris Prokhorov

The election campaign has reached its acme: Candidates meet their constituencies, explain some items of their platforms and defend them in disputes with their rivals. But one can familiarise himself with platforms of candidates not only at meetings. Leading and local newspapers write every day about promises of some or other contenders for parliamentary seats.

What is the essence of these platforms? The main thing is that each of them unequivocally recognises the need for perestroyka and expresses support for it. On the other hand, methods of changes and their pace are seen in different ways.

Frankly speaking, platforms of candidates from the Soviet Communist Party are especially impressive. This is quite understandable: They are based on the election address of the CPSU Central Committee "to the party, to the Soviet people", where the most important directions of the party policy were formulated for the near future.

Incidentally, platforms of many other candidates—from mass organisations and from constituencies—are also interesting. True, some of them have a narrow approach. One candidate from Moscow pledges to cut cost of housing construction. A condidate from Uzbekistan promises to introduce cotton-growing without chemicals, and a runner from Voronezh (central part of the Russian Federation) promises to oust air-polluting enterprises out of the city. These are good proposals but they lack a nationwide scale, they show that these candidates lack political experience.

There are programmes of a general character, which lack particulars. One candidate campaigns for returning most moral values, while another intends to fight against trends for rising retail prices. Intentions are good, but there are no concrete plans for achieving these aims.

To all appearances, least appealing are programmes which have a lot of bombastic words and promises but which lack any sound basis for their implementation. True, they are not numerous: Runners who hoped to sail into the Soviet parliament on an emotional "wave of meetings", were weeded out at the stage of registration: They failed to win the required number of votes. Nevertheless, some of them have cleared this "hurdle". Let us wait and see, how voters will treat them on the polling day.

There are grounds to claim, on the whole, that, despite imperfection of some platforms, the present campaign drastically differs from the previous ones. Now it has become clear that we are really heading for elections and not for voting. The platforms of candidates also show: Voters will have a good choice.

Official Gives Statistics on Election Candidates

LD0603230489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; V. Sokoloyanskiy report]

[Excerpts] [Sokoloyanskiy] The final stage of the election campaign is in full swing and I am convinced that viewers are anxiously awaiting the results of the registration of people's deputy candidates.

[V.P. Orlov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission; identified by caption] Yes, today is Monday, the last telegrams and the last protocols have been received by the electoral commission and I can tell you the results. At 1,500 constituencies—territorial and national-territorial constituencies—2,901 deputy-candidates have been registered. This is approximately two persons...

[Sokolyanksiy, interrupting] For one mandate, isn't that so?

[Orlov] For one mandate. Two people will not be put forward for one mandate in all constituencies. In 385 constituencies only one deputy candidate has been registered. In 951 constituencies there will be two candidates. In the other constituencies there will be three or more. There are 164 of these. [passage omitted]

The social composition is this: 83 percent of the registered candidates are men and 17 percent are women. Nearly 26 percent are workers; 19 percent are collective farmers; and 85 percent are members and candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee. [passage omitted] [video shows two men talking in an office]

Medvedev, Lukyanov Address Election Conference
PM0803110789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
8 Mar 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Building Up Ideological Backup for Restructuring"]

[Text] A conference of the heads of mass media and a number of central ideological establishments, at which questions of coverage in the press, television, and radio of the final stage of the election campaign were discussed, has been held at the CPSU Central Committee. The conference was opened by Medvedev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Commission.

Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, spoke at the conference. Analyzing the progress of the election campaign, he stressed that we are witnessing the acquisition of unique political experience and the accumulation of new elements in our democratic development. Together with the renewal of the economic, social, and spiritual spheres of the life of society, the elections, by their uniqueness and the unprecedented scale of political activity of the masses, augment in an organic way the whole aspect of restructuring and move it forward.

The speaker focused attention on the key directions of the work of the mass media at the final stage of the election campaign. It was noted that the press, television, and radio are covering its progress in a much broader and more interesting way than in previous years. At the same time, a number of crucial tasks now face the mass media. It is important to equip the electorate and work collectives with knowledge of the laws and of democratic mechanisms, to cover the progress of the election campaign in an all-around manner, to speak justly and objectively about the deputy candidates, their meetings with the electorate, and their discussions, and to ensure in deeds the principle of equal opportunities for all candidates.

The press should also focus its attention on the activity of electoral districts and district commissions. There is great and very crucial work ahead to cover the elections of USSR people's deputies themselves and the results of the ballot, generalize the proposals and critical comments voiced in the course of the meetings with candidates, and fulfill them.

Orlov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission for the USSR people's deputy elections, replied to specific questions asked by the conference participants on the final stage of the election campaign.

Speaking in conclusion, Comrade Medvedev emphasized that the present elections are a big step on the path of democratization. They are vivid testimony to the depth of the changes in the political life of society. The election campaign is not yet over, but its result—a definite upsurge in the civil activity of Soviet people—is evident. Noting that the mass media have accumulated undoubted positive experience, the CPSU Central Committee secretary drew the attention of the conference participants to questions reuiring careful analysis and to certain omissions and problems that have emerged when the election campaign has been let slide and the press has shown a certain degree of passivity or sometimes tolerated unscrupulousness in publishing material. The importance was emphasized of constantly being aware of the basic tenets of the party's pre-election platform, of profoundly explaining its content, of devoting greater attention to the practical implementation of the most important socioeconomic tasks put forward by the party—a solution of the food and the housing problems—and of improving the work of trade and medical and everyday services to the population.

In the remaining period of the election campaign it is the duty of the information bodies to render the maximum assistance to consolidating all forces around the party's platform, to step up the campaign for the representatives of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, to convince people and to win over the masses through new-styled, lively, and attractive propaganda and agitation work. The press should not be satisfied with the role of an impartial recorder of the ups and downs of the pre-election campaign or with merely reproducing on its pages the widely publicized, although clearly impracticable promises of certain candidates.

Dwelling further on the coverage of certain questions of interethnic relations, Comrade Medvedev said: The party is convinced that a feasible solution of these

problems is inseparable from restructuring, and is impossible outside of it. But restructuring itself cannot be implemented without cooperation and interaction, and without the unity of the Soviet people. In all our work we pledge to build up ideological support for restructuring. In this connection, the speaker dwelt on the coverage given by the mass media to questions of the implementation of economic reform, the stabilization of the market, the financial improvement of the national economy, improvement in food supplies to the population, and the ecological situation. More attention should be given to the most complex and most acute problems of the day, he stressed. More attention should be given to the specific experience of enhancing the labor and political activity of the working people.

The beauty of the period we are experiencing at the moment, Comrade Medvedev said in conclusion, lies in the fact that today, as never before, what is required is joint, constructive work, specific deeds, and specific results. The party has initiated restructuring; it is fully determined to firmly and consistently put it into practice. The party is the main motive force and the main guarantor of restructuring. It will, as was emphasized at the conference, continue to steadily proceed along the path of democratization, broadening glasnost and socialist pluralism of opinons.

The main thrust of its activity will continue to be the interests of the people, faith in the socialist option, international unity, and friendship among the peoples of our country.

Candidate Solovyev Answers Voters' Questions

PM0803113389 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Mar 89 p 1

[V. Koshvanets report under the rubric "Striding Toward the Elections": "Direct Answers Heard at Meeting of Candidate for USSR People's Deputy Yu.F. Solovyev With Voters"—first two paragraphs are LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] As reported by our newspaper earlier, a regular meeting between candidate for USSR People's Deputy for the Nevskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug No 55 Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad Party Obkom, and members of the agitation collective and the okrug's voters was held the day before yesterday at No 458 School.

We publish the notes of our correspondent, who attended the meeting.

A leaflet inviting people to vote for Yu.F. Solovyev appeared a few days ago in Nevskiy Rayon. "Comrades," it says, "our candidate is one of the people who formulated the ideas of restructuring and who persistently implement the party line aimed the consistent renewal of all aspects of our society's life. His election program reflects the interests and needs of Leningraders and voters in our okrug...."

And further on the leaflet reads:

"At present the so-called 'Elections-89' social committee and certain other informal associations are conducting agitation work against our candidate. They do not shrink from any methods, distributing slanderous leaflets, calling people on the telephone, and trying to thwart the agitation and explanatory work of labor collectives.

"Their aim is to slander our candidate and by means of demagogical appeals and promises to divert voters from the solution of overdue problems.

"We appeal to you: Do not believe the slanderers! Resolutely rebut the demagogues from the 'Elections-89' Committee!..."

This leaflet has been issued by the agitation collective of the "Bolshevik" plant, the "Zvezda" and V.I. Lenin "Nevskiy Zavod" associations, the "Rabochiy" factory, the No 458 School, and other organizations which have nominated Yu.F. Solovyev as candidate people's deputy. The very publication of this leaflet proves yet again that the current elections differ fundamentally from any of the previous elections. A serious political struggle is under way, which obliges anyone who treasures the interests of restructuring, and Communists first and foremost, to take up a clear political stance, openly declare it, and defend it all the way.

The time when one could remain silent and pretend that nothing is going on is over. This is an antirestructuring stance, and it is a very good thing that the authors of the leaflet have grasped this and face the truth squarely.

The demand also directly applies today to every candidate people's deputy, irrespective of what office or post he holds. The only possible winners are those who do not try to deceive voters, who do not try to avoid providing direct answers to the difficult questions posed by life, and who are not afraid to express their personal viewpoint on problems which are evoking ambivalent assessments in society.

I believe that the voters from the Right Bank, who attended the meeting at No 458 School, saw before them precisely such a candidate. It must be admitted that the echoes of the work carried out by the "Elections-89" committee reverberated even here. From time to time tension rose in the hall and questions based on rumors and fabrications rang out. However, not one of these questions evoked the candidate's irritation, even though this would have been understandable in human terms. Not once did he make any attempt to kowtow to his

audience, to win additional sympathies by making additional promises which, in human terms, would again have been understandable. After all, it is this audience which will determine the outcome of the 26 March elections.

No, every question was followed by a direct, realistic answer.

[Unidentified questioner] Are you not embarrassed at the fact that you are the only candidate registered in this okrug?

[Solovyev] I did not seek to be the only candidate. The labor collectives which nominated me also discussed the candidacies of other comrades who failed, however, to gain the requisite number of votes. No one forced anyone to vote only for Solovyev. I was nominated as a candidate entirely in accordance with the Law on Elections, and therefore my conscience is clear.

[Unidentified questioner] How do you rate the quality of the Neva water? Is the water drinkable?

[Solovyev] It is, if we are talking about the municipal tap water. Its quality is checked several times a day, and so far it is relatively high since the water is drawn in the upper reaches of the Neva where the water is still relatively clean. Within the city limits the water is bad, however. At the next session of the Leningrad Soviet a decision is to be adopted on tougher penalties to be applied to enterprises which continue to pollute the river.

[Unidentified questioner] And what is your view of the flood barrier and the culture and leisure center at Lisiy Nos?

[Solovyev] Above all I would like to ask you, in both cases, not to succumb to dilettantish emotions. Two competent, autonomous commissions of specialists are at the moment again looking into the flood barrier. Let us wait for their conclusions, which will be published. The same applies to Lisiy Nos. Nothing has as yet been decided or signed and sealed behind closed doors, as certain people are claiming. When the specialists have had their say, then we will jointly decide what is to be done. We will hold a citywide referendum for this purpose. And what we decide, that is going to be done. No one is trying to foist a Disneyland on us.

[Unidentified questioner] Don't you think that the salaries of leading economic managers are too high?

[Solovyev] No, I don't. Directors of such major enterprises as the "Bolshevik" plant or "Elektrosila," for instance, get R700 or more per month. But they work day and night, and, in my opinion, they fully earn this money. And what is more our "reserve list" of directors is not very long. Don't take offense, but if anyone in the hall here feels competent to work as a director and is prepared to do it for half that sum, we are prepared to consider his proposal and to up his wages by 30 percent immediately.

[Unidentified questioner] Will we be able to meet like this after you have been elected as a people's deputy?

[Solovyev] First you elect me, then we come to an arrangement.

[Unidentified questioner] Will retired people who go back to production work be able to retain their pensions?

[Solovyev] I believe that they will. Recently the party obkom has submitted a proposal to superior organs suggesting that pensioners who return to production work should retain the right to draw their full pension as well as wages. According to our estimates the solution of the cadre question on the basis of bringing in so-called quota workers is seven times more expensive. I personally will strive for such a decision to be adopted without fail and, if necessary, will appeal to M.S. Gorbachev himself.

[Unidentified questioner] Do you know that there is no tea to be had in the city?

[Solovyev] What do you mean, tea! There is no soap! At the moment we are selling seven times more of it than usual. The soap factory is working in three shifts at full capacity and demand is not subsiding. And how can it, if 40 tonnes of parcels are dispatched from the city daily, including parcels containing soap? We will, of course, keep producing soap until everyone has managed to buy more than enough of it. But, frankly speaking, we all should be a bit more sensible as consumers.

[Unidentified questioner] Are there no plans to build another bridge across the Neva? After all, the distance between the Aleksandr Nevskiy and the Volodarskiy bridges is several kilometers.

[Solovyev] There are now 10 bridges across the Neva and the rivermen are already "moaning" that during the navigation period they can barely manage to get all the ships through. Meanwhile the problem of the construction of an underground tunnel under the Neva has been discussed for a long time, but there is no money for this at the moment. In my opinion, the subway is much more important for the city. We are building it at twice the rate envisaged in the 5-year plan and mobilizing all the resources we can lay our hands on for this purpose.

[Unidentified questioner] Is it true that while you were in the post of CPSU obkom second secretary you built a hothouse at your private dacha at the state's expense?

[Solovyev] I have never owned a private dacha. I have had the use and still have the use a state dacha. It is true that at one time the obkom administration of affairs,

while improving the amenities on dacha plots, built a small unheated greenhouse next to my dacha, too, at a cost of R370. I have only recently learned this figure, after certain comrades, in their quest to find some compromising information about me, unearthed the said greenhouse, having raked over all the places where I used to work.

[Unidentified questioner] What is your view of the informals?

[Solovyev] On the whole it is a useful and interesting movement and yet more evidence of the awakening of people's social activeness. As for extremists, they are extremists, no matter what name they take. And we will combat them right up to applying to law to them.

[Unidentified questioner] The city is full of rumors about freightcars full of rotten meat allegedly having arrived in the city and having been used to make sausages....

[Solovyev] Do not lend credence to rumors. And as for sausages, additional measures have been adopted to improve their quality. Soya and other additives have been banned and we are consulting foreign specialists in the production of sausages from frozen meat, which is the main raw material at our sausage factories.

[Unidentified questioner] Is it really necessary for rayispolkom chairmen to travel around in "Volga" cars? Would not a personal 6-ruble ticket do?

[Solovyev] In that case, you would never get to see the ispolkom chairman in your rayon, which in terms of both its population and its territory exceeds some major oblast centers. The question is not what mode of transport a chairman uses, but what his work is like. As for motor vehicles, there are still hundreds of trucks traveling through our city conveying no more than a bolt each. This is what we should focus our attention on.

[Unidentified questioner] Will steps be taken to overcome the lag in the provision of social, cultural, and consumer amenities on the Right Bank?

[Solovyev] They are already being taken. Next year a children's health center will open in No 24 district, and we will try to speed up the construction of a sports school, sports facilities, and other amenities, and will focus our attention on roads. Obviously, if I am elected deputy, this problem will be under my special supervision. However, alone I cannot achieve anything. It is necessary for the rayon soviet and other rayon organizations, industrial enterprises, and the citizens themselves to become more energetic and active. Freeloading attitudes which still persist in the rayon must be resolutely eradicated. [Solovyev ends]

...This barrage of questions, only partially reproduced here, is what the candidate people's deputy had to face after outlining his election program to those present. Incidentally, the answers he gave were a logical complement to this program, which, just like the election platform of the party as a whole, centers on man, his vital concerns and interests, and his desire to know and hear the truth about our life.

In my opinion, this truth, which was equally useful for both the voters and the candidate, and without which restructuring is unthinkable, rang out at the meeting.

Baklanov Visits Khabarovsk Kray 6-7 Mar

Arrives in Komsomolsk-na-Amure

OW0803074589 Khabarovsk Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Comrade Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, arrived in Komsomolsk-na-Amure today. His familiarization with the city began with a visit to housing construction sites and social and cultural service facilities. In the afternoon, Oleg Dmitriyevich visited the Gagarin Aviation Plant, where he talked with workers about the development of the enterprise's social sphere.

Comrade Baklanov arrived in the company of leading workers of a number of union ministries and departments. The CPSU Central Committee secretary is being accompanied on his tour of the kray by Pasternak, kraykom first secretary, and Danilyuk, krayispolkom chairman.

Continues Tour of City

OW0803080489 Khabarovsk Domestic Service in Russian0930 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Oleg Dmitriyevich Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, continued to acquaint himself with various aspects of life of people in Komsomolsk-na-Amure yesterday and today. In the afternoon of 6 March he toured the assembly shops of the Gagarin Aviation Plant and talked with workers, specialists, and heads of various production units.

Specific questions and tasks of perfecting production, introducing progressive forms of labor organization and remuneration, and more efficiently solving social issues and ecological problems were discussed at a meeting Oleg Dmitriyevich Baklanov had with the plant's party and economy aktiv. The aircraft builders spoke about their concerns without concealing or smoothing out difficulties. A broad range of questions was reviewed.

Addressing the meeting, Oleg Dmitriyevich Baklanov stressed that the plant has good labor traditions and (?it is now important) [words indistinct] the enterprise, to augment their contribution to restructuring, whose aim is to improve the life of the Soviet people, with concrete

deeds. The CPSU Central Committee Secretary recalled that solution of the food program, acceleration of housing construction, and increasing the output of consumer goods are of primary significance to the country. Oleg Dmitriyevich Baklanov drew the attention of the party and economy aktiv to the fact that the enterprise's potential opportunities permit it to achieve more.

Particular attention at the meeting with the aktiv was focused on the lag in housing construction. It is precisely the severe shortage of housing that (?is the reason) for the personnel turnover. The plant's leadership is set the task of ensuring the annual construction of 300 apartments by economic means. It was stressed that the plant's leaders should more persistently work to develop this form of construction and to improve the organization of this matter, and first of all the supply of materials to construction projects. An enterprising approach, initiative, and persistence should be demonstrated, and direct ties and agreements should be set up with construction materials enterprises and the construction industry. Only 40 percent of the capacities of the large panel house building plant in Komsomolsk-na-Amure are being used. This is where reserves for accelerating housing construction, including housing for aircraft builders, lie.

The social reorientation of the economy requires particular attention to the production of consumer goods and the improvement of their quality and enhancement of their consumer characteristics. Unfortunately this work is in a state of neglect at the plant. It is sufficient to note that for every ruble of wages only 20 kopeks worth of consumer goods are produced.

Talk also centered on the question of aircraft builders being called upon to more efficiently use their potential for the production of equipment which is capable of ensuring the preservation and processing of agricultural produce. Particular concern was expressed over the state of affairs in environmental protection work in the city and over the weakening attention to questions of the ecology and nature protection.

Oleg Dmitriyevich Baklanov continued to acquaint himself with the city today. He toured Pervostroiteli Avenue and the memorial complex at the landing site of the first volunteer builders. During the day the CPSU Central Committee secretary visited the Lenin Komsomolsk shipbuilding plant.

Examines Living Conditions

LD0803092889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 7 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, is in Khabarovsk Kray. [video shows pictures of the town, a huge factory, a construction site] Komsomolsk-on-Amur provides the kray with a third of its total industrial output. The districts of the town seem to get lost in the industrial landscape. How do people here live, when—it is no secret—they are also working for the country's defense. The plan for the erection of housing in Komsomolsk and throughout the kray is not being met. Here these two tractors, one of them a tiny buggy at the side of the giant tractor operating in the quarry, can be compared to the effort put into building housing and the effort put into developing industry. [video shows two tractors]

We filmed them outside the apartment complex. Oleg Dmitriyevich Baklanov, the Central Committee secretary, made this his first stop. [video shows Baklanov standing outside the apartment complex surrounded by people] The fact is that tens of thousands of people are employed at the Gagarin aircraft works. One out of every three is in line for an apartment, but by the by-your-own-resources method they have managed to build only the first complex—this complex here.

The ship builders turned out to be more efficient. They managed it even by the small-own-resources method when a workshop and not the factory builds for itself. They themselves did the replanning, and the architecture is even better. It means that it depends on the organization, on enterprise.

There is the first aircraft, the AN-TSM. It was built by the aircraft constructors in 1936. [video shows aircraft mounted on a base, followed by pictures of Baklanov inside the factory talking to the workers]. Now the factory's collective makes technology that is unequalled in the world, but what surprises one is that the highest technical qualifications are accompanied by a lack of know-how when it comes to the economy. In the very first conversation people complained that they have money, but there is nothing to buy. And you see, at the factory for every ruble in wages only 20-kopecks worth of consumer goods are produced. One must use one's own scientific and industrial potentials in the defense sector of industry to supply the far east with sufficient goods for the people. How long can one go on bringing them in from the European part of the country.

At the Leninskiy Komsomol shipyards 30 designations of consumer goods are produced. Large amounts of furniture are produced. A better index—35 kopecks worth of consumer goods per ruble of wages. But the workers themselves talk about the poor quality and the large amount of manual work. [video shows Baklanov going around the shipyards, inspecting a boat and furniture, talking to the workers]

Here is yet another chronic sore point in the town of Komsomolsk. Half of the town's sewage flows into the Amur without being treated. The residents of the Far East are patriots of their native parts. But the paradox is that the construction of the new powerful purification complex is being rejected from year to year. For the moment the Amur and the attitude to its troubles are under a thick covering of ice. But ecological problems

have already risen up like the ice hummocks on the river. The party and local soviet leaders of the kray who are accompanying Comrade Baklanov on his trip, have stipulated that the ecological situation in Komsomolsk-on-Amur should be subject to special monitoring. All those living here have long been demanding that it be resolved. [video shows pictures of the ice-covered Amur, a purification plant. Baklanov is shown looking at some plans]

Yakovlev Visits Georgian SSR 23-28 Feb

Arrives in Tbilisi 23 Feb

PM0703130089 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 25 Feb 89 pp 1, 4

[GRUZINFORM report: "A.N. Yakovlev's Visit to Tbilisi"]

[Excerpts] A.N. Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, arrived in Tbilisi 23 February.

On the same day A.N. Yakovlev visited the Georgian Museum of Arts and the S. Dzhanashia State Museum of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences. The guest inspected the exhibition of Georgia's artistic culture and history and unique relics of the past discovered on the republic's territory in recent years.

At Cinema House A.N. Yakovlev had a meeting with representatives of Georgia's creative intelligentsia. [passage omitted]

Speaking at the meeting, A.N. Yakovlev noted that democratization and glasnost have reached the deepest strata of society and lifted the veil on processes that occurred, to some degree, in our life but often were not taken into account. However, not everyone was ready to accept them. This is a temporary phenomenon, as a rule, that goes with any revolutionary restructuring. Therefore the most important thing now is not to rest on our laurels, to help restructuring with concrete action, and to seek a breakthrough in the mentality and way of thinking of people who lived for years in fear and subjugation. Figuratively speaking, restructuring is like a man pushing a large stone up a hill. He has reached the halfway mark, and if he so much as stumbles the stone will break away. It will roll downhill and sweep away everything in its path. There is no way back, the only way to go is ahead, onward and upward, and in this progressive movement a special role belongs to the creative intelligentsia, whose authoritative and convincing words are heeded by the people. The best confirmation of this is provided by the books by well-known Georgian writers, T. Abuladze's movie "Repentance," and other movies and theatrical shows by the republic's artists that have won recognition in our country and abroad.

The problem of young people was the subject of a special discussion. Democratization and glasnost have made the young generation more active. They are responsible for many important initiatives. As a result of this, many complex questions of history, language, ecology, and demography have been and are being resolved in a positive manner. However, young people's ignorance of how to exercise freedom and conduct political dialogue and debate sometimes pushes them from one extreme to the other. That is why dialogue with young people is so important. It is necessary to be more intimate and frank with them, to tell them the truth, and to teach them constructive debate and respect for our society's ideals.

Concern for the question of ethnic relations, which has become acute in our country, could be heard in nearly all the speeches. Young people, some of whom assess ethnic problems subjectively, are also becoming involved in the heated debates on this subject, it was noted at the meeting. The present generation should not forget that Soviet people defeated fascism together, raised the country from the ruins together, and always shared both joy and sorrow. Yet many publications in the union press do nothing to promote the further strengthening of this friendship, tested over the years, between Soviet people, and thus they put the fate of restructuring in jeopardy. In this connection there was talk of the need to step up the role of the mass media in the renewal processes and increase everyone's sense of responsibility for the fate of restructuring and for our country's future.

The "Tbilmoloko" production association is a worthy example of restructuring. Today some 50 types of dairy products are produced here. Waste-free technology and the wide use of contemporary achievements of science and technology have often placed the enterprise's collective among the leaders in the All-Union Socialist Competition.

A.N. Yakovlev visited the association's head enterprise on 24 February. In conversations with workers, engineers, technicians, and representatives of the administration and the party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations, the main attention was focused on the need to improve quality in every way and widen the range of output produced.

It was noted that the association's output goes into the trade network in Tbilisi and Rustavi, and there are no particular complaints of shortages. But there are days when the produce arrives late, which leads to waiting lines in the stores and justified dissatisfaction among customers. Insufficient attention is also devoted to the outward appearance of articles and the packaging and transportation of finished products.

A.N. Yakovlev pointed to the importance of the maximum possible increase in the production of dairy produce. Now that the party has set a course of the speediest resolution of the Food Program, he noted, it is very

important to increase as quickly as possible the association's production capacities, renew the equipment pool, and improve the processes used in processing raw materials. To ensure the fuller utilization of the potential of every enterprise, shop, and sector belonging to the association, it is necessary to more actively adopt intrafarm economic accountability and introduce various forms of contract and leasing. It was stressed that the experience of the 16 amalgamated economic accountability teams that were set up should become available to the whole collective. The style that is needed now is a concrete approach, unity of word and deed, careful consideration of people's opinion, and skillful coordination of actions.

In the course of the talk problems, of the production workers' relationship with rural workers, and particularly stockmen, were also raised, and it was noted that in the countryside, too, it is necessary to create the most favorable possible organizational, economic, and legal conditions to ensure the true autonomy of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other enterprises in the agro-industrial complex, and to increase their initiative, responsibility, and enterprise in increasing output and improving quality.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary studied new types of products launched by the enterprise this year, and advised that the latest achievements of science be used more widely to ensure their speediest mass production. He drew attention to the need for the intensification and improvement of manufacturing processes, and in particular the total elimination of manual labor, which still accounts for more than 10 percent here.

A.N. Yakovlev inquired about the working and living conditions of workers and employees, and advised that more attention be devoted to the enterprise's social development and that all the conditions be created for highly productive labor and normal leisure. Much has been done recently, but today it is not enough. [passage omitted]

Visits Museums, Associations

LD2602012389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] We have just received a report from Georgia, which is being visited by Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev.

[Correspondent] Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev began acquainting himself with the Republic by visiting the museums of Georgian history and art. The collections that are assembled here are unique. They include gold articles by ancient craftsmen which have been been returned to their people thanks to the efforts of archaeologists and restorers. There are also majestic frescos and enamel-inset work. We can now only admire this work, for we can no longer repeat it. The secret has been lost through the ages. However, main expressive samples of the people's everyday life, and with them samples of the people's spirit, have been preserved. The Georgians have a truly moving approach to art and history and not only to their own art and history. The destiny of Davyd Ilyich Arsenashvili, who created the museum in Moscow devoted to the great Russian artist Andrey Rublev, is an example. Few people know about this fact. A film about this astonishing devotee opened Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev's meeting with representatives of the republic's creative intelligentsia. This short, bright, sincere film set the tone for the whole discussion about the difficult destiny of Georgia's intelligentsia and about the attitude of young people to the present day and to history. A state program has now been created in the republic for the study of the Georgian language and Georgian history. Nevertheless, a gap remains between the theory and practice of interethnic relations. Eminent figures in Georgian art spoke of this at the meeting with alarm and responsibility. [video shows Yakovlev touring museum; close-ups of Georgian artifacts and pictures, some of a religious nature; and Yakovlev at meeting with intelligentsia, where various figures in audience are seen speaking while Yakovlev takes notes]

Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev visited the Tbilmoloko association. Here dairy products using folk recipes are produced on the basis of modern waste-free production. The enterprises's designers have developed and installed in the production line automatic equipment which has freed the female workers from monotonous manual work. The enterprise has its own direct sales shop which will be opening in Tbilisi shortly. There is also a factory consumer service and new houses for young couples and families with many children. There is concern and attention for people. [video shows pictures of automated production of dairy products]

Here you have a ceremony to mark the golden wedding of the Artilakva couple, and Ravil Shamir singing to their health, in their honor, under the vaulted celing of the Tbilisi Palace of Ceremonies. [video shows exterior of ornate building and Yakovlev inside shaking hands with the husband and a little girl accompanying the couple]

At the Georgian Polytechnical Institute, Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev acquainted himself with the most promising work by scientists and students, which included digital satellite television, cryogenic and laser equipment, a telephone exchange, architectural projects for Georgian villages, and dozens of inventions that have been licensed and sold abroad. All this shows the very considerable scientific potential of the Georgian Polytechnical Institute and the great potential for training young specialists and genuine representatives of the scientific and creative intelligentsia. The talk at a meeting with treachers was devoted to the role of the intelligentsia. [video shows Yakovlev viewing work at Institute and then addressing meeting of teaching staff]

Visits Monastery, Academy

LD2602012889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev is continuing his tour of Georgia. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent N. Gongadze] Today, Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev met the architects and restoration specialists who are working on the David Garedzha Monastery. One year ago, on the demand of the people of the republic, a military proving ground that had caused a great deal of destruction in this precious area was relocated elsewhere. More than R500,000 have been allocated for the purposes of restoring the frescoes, reinforcing the caves—of which there are over 1,000 here—and setting up a new museum and national park. Another point of interest is that literally the other day the monastery began functioning as such. [video shows Yakovlev and entourage visiting the monastery, monk climbing stairs]

[Correspondent P. Orlov] Life goes on at the (?Ikalto) Academy—the 12th century focus of Georgian culture—as well. Legend has it that Shota Rustaveli studied here. It is now a people's university. The rector, Georgiy Shaterishvili, introduced Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev to a collection of books and works of art presented by their creators to the university. Here's Shota Rustaveli's epic poem in many languages. [video shows Yakovlev looking at books and pictures on display] For 25 years now, the Shota (Opa) Festival has been held here in honor of the great poet.

At the foot of the Gambori Ridge in the picturesque Alazanskaya Valley lies Telavi, where Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev visited the architectural complexes of the old Kakhetiyan capital and the ethnographic museum. The exhibition there looks back to the roots of the ancient and individual creative achievements of the Kakhetiyan people and the humanistic traditions that live on to this day in the best works by Georgian artists. [video shows Yakovlev visiting a museum]

Attends Composer's Funeral

PM0103155589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Feb 89 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Final Journey"]

[Text] On 26 February the Georgian capital accompanied USSR People's Artist Otar Vasilyevich Taktakishvili, winner of the Lenin and USSR State Prizes and an outstanding musician, on his final journey.

The coffin with the body of the deceased was displayed in the Z. Paliashvili State Opera and Ballet Theater, whose repertoire has been adorned by the works of this remarkable composer.

The honor guard included A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and D.I. Patiashvili, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee. Speakers at the funeral meeting noted that O.V. Taktakishvili had served the motherland selflessly throughout his life. He had created works of great social resonance which assert high moral ideals.

O.V. Taktakishvili was entombed in the Didubiyskiy Pantheon.

Addresses Georgian Party Aktiv

PM2802160089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Work Conscientiously, Live Honestly"]

[Text] Tbilisi, 27 Feb—All the party's plans are subordinate to the people's interests, it is stressed in the CPSU Central Committee Appeal to the party and the Soviet people. Their fulfillment will determine what life is like tomorrow, what the future holds. And all this is in the hands of the people themselves, whose labor, skill, social activeness, and public stance are the most important guarantee of success.

This idea, which forms the basis of the party's election program, determines the nature and content of the current election campaign for the elections of USSR people's deputies. The people control their own destiny, and it is now firmly linked to restructuring, which must be defended and—most important—energetically and consistently promoted.

A clear understanding of the objectives and scale of the work that lies ahead permeated the republican party aktiv's meeting with A.N. Yakovlev, candidate USSR people's deputy from the CPSU, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, held in the Georgian capital today.

The meeting was opened by D.I. Patiashvili, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee. The speakers, B.D. Makharashvili, first secretary of Tbilisi party gorkom; A.M. Apakidze, vice president of the republican Academy of Sciences; A.D. Dikhtyar, comprehensive team leader at the "Tbilgorstroy" No. 5 Housing Construction Combine; G.D. Lordkipanidze, chairman of the board of the Georgian Theater Workers' Union; N.I. Kakhishvili, general director of the Tbilisi "Mion" Science and Production Association; L.N. Kalandadze, student at Tbilisi State University philology faculty; A.A. Silagadze, editor of the newspaper SAKHALKHO GANATLEBA; and poet and academician I.V. Abashidze, spoke of the importance of rallying all society's healthy forces in the struggle for restructuring and renewal. It was stressed that only together, only

by the shared efforts of party and people, is it possible to overcome all difficulties and achieve the planned milestones on the path of revolutionary transformations.

A.N. Yakovlev addressed those present.

The uniqueness of our time, he said, lies not only in the intensiveness and quality of sociopolitical life or in the fact that democracy, glasnost, conscience and dignity, creative activeness, and the beneficial processes of renewal of national life have entered fully into our life. This uniqueness lies also in the fusion of times, when history is experienced as contemporary, while the present makes history before our eyes and through our actions. Today, as M.S. Gorbachev has said, restructuring "is being embodied in new forms of socioeconomic and political organization."

The inspiring events of recent years should be assessed not on the basis of short-term emotional outbursts—whether positive or negative—but according to their objective contribution to the democratic renewal of the country, according to how they have strengthened and heightened the barrier that protects us from returning to the authoritarian past. From this viewpoint, last year was crucial not only for the restructuring era, but for the whole of post-October history.

The coming elections will be a test of the democratic maturity of the whole of our society. The party expresses the hope that at the elections of the supreme organ of power the working people will say a resolute "yes" to the further development and deepening of restructuring. And that they will do so in awareness of the complexity of the tasks and of everything that we have learned and grasped in recent years, and with a sense of personal responsibility for the future and interest in the deeds and future of the country, the republic, and every collective.

As a Communist and member of the party leadership, A.N. Yakovlev said, and as a candidate deputy on the party list, I intend to and will uphold and implement the restructuring platform defined by the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum, the 27th party congress, and the 19th party conference. The revolutionary renewal of socialism is the party's life, and that means my life too.

Restructuring is the policy of establishing a democratic and truly humanist, moral society. It is the course of developing glasnost, achieving paramountcy of the law, strengthening discipline and self-discipline, and eradicating crime. It is the creation of a self-regulating economy committed to overcoming and eliminating shortages and functioning on the basis of economic accountability and enterprise. The establishment of a very strict policy for the ecological protection of nature and of man. It is the all-around development of society's culture and the freedom of artistic creativity. It is the maximum emancipation of the commitment, initiative, and autonomy of labor collectives, republics, krays, oblasts, cities, and rayons, and of every individual. It is true self-government at every level, the establishment of comprehensive control by society over authority, and the heightening of the citizen's responsibility to society.

The strategic result of restructuring is a new moral and psychological atmosphere in society. Democracy, glasnost, criticism, exactingness, an increasingly active life stance—these are the indisputable signs of a new climate. A person who has undergone this spiritual renewal will never be the same again, he is no longer capable of blindly fulfilling someone else's commands and instructions, someone else's will, if they are contrary to his own convictions.

For many decades we have not had such a profound party and nationwide stocktaking of the existing situation, such a thorough and meticulous analysis of all aspects of life. In some spheres it is not yet completed, in some it is only just beginning. But even today the analysis carried out by restructuring is repaying us well.

Living with reality, in harmony with it, means demanding the full and honest truth everywhere and in everything. It means having the ability and opportunity promptly to correct those who make mistakes, to call to account those who act irresponsibly, and to take action against those who are unscrupulous. A realistic world outlook is the scientific, psychological, and moral basis for democracy, successful policy, and socialism in general.

The greatest asset of any people is its intellectual traditions, a culture closely linked with the people and their life and hopes. In Georgia a great deal of good has been done to develop historical awareness, educate people in the highest achievements of the past, and preserve the monuments of material and spiritual culture. Wise formulas have been found for combining the languages and cultures of the peoples living in the republic. Georgian literature, art, and social thinking made a notable contribution to the preparation of the spiritual and moral atmosphere in Soviet society from which restructuring drew its strength.

Speaking of the significance of the spiritual and moral principle in the socialist society, A.N. Yakovlev stressed that socialism should regain its great mission of freedom of artistic creativity, without which civilization is either stifled or sent back into the past. In the context of political morality, he went on to say, it is incumbent on us to grasp, understand, and sense to the full the disaster that rocks society if millions of Communists stand back from decisions, give way to frenzies of artificial rapture, and live according to the ideology of myth-making. Such things are understandable among a crowd of religious fanatics. But in a party that has assumed responsibility for the creation of a new society and the life of every Soviet person, such things are intolerable.

Restructuring puts onto a practical footing Marx' definition of socialism as a system of developed social and human relations. And that means developed—and not only social, but also human in their content. This is very important for an understanding of what is happening.

The topics that have come to the fore in the debate over recent months are: How energetically, efficiently, and effectively is restructuring implementing its own plans and intentions? These are legitimate questions: You cannot successfully advance restructuring without studying daily and hourly how it is going, where it is succeeding, and where and why delays occur.

But could anyone seriously have thought that restructuring would proceed without a hitch? Can there be transformations on a revolutionary scale that do not give rise to resistance, blunders and errors, vacillations and disappointments, that find the only correct solutions always, everywhere, and in everything? We must have the courage to admit that this cannot happen in life at all, still less in revolutionary social transformations. If we do not grasp that, there is a real danger of undermining restructuring with moaning and self-analysis and drowning it in petty arguments.

"Everything is fine"—that is an ideology alien to restructuring. But "everything is wrong"—that is the stance of a sniveling bourgeois, in whose opinion even his own arms and legs are not how they should be and the earth does not spin according to his rules. Thus far, restructuring is only the start of the overcoming of the precrisis state. Certain negative processes have not yet been halted or reversed—we have the right to seek practical results from restructruing, and we should do so. But it would be an unforgivable error to expect fundamental improvements to be easy, simple, and quick, to expect a miracle.

Much has begun, and in the most crucial areas. The year 1988 was emphatically a transitional year in this respect. That is its importance. That is also the difficulty it poses: Transformations affecting the very foundations of many spheres of life and activity bring much that is unaccustomed and new. It is already possible to say confidently: Restructuring has established the main avenues of Soviet society's development for decades to come, persistently overcoming the main source of resistence—the prerestructuring and antirestructuring infrastructure that has acquired an enormous force of inertia over the decades.

In this connection A.N. Yakovlev dwelt in detail on the tasks that have to be tackled in the process of restructuring in the economy, the social sphere, politics, and public life in general. Mention was made, in particular, of the need to subordinate the market to socialism. Of the creation of effective mechanisms for the self-regulation of political and public life and legal safeguards for democratic institutions and the interests and dignity of the state. And of the struggle against leveling and the conservative force of bellicose parasitism.

A.N. Yakovlev also touched on some aspects of ethnic relations. Noting socialism's historical merits in this sphere, he said: Among the accusations flung at restructuring there is the one that it led to an explosion of nationalist emotions and to conflicts. That is not how things are. The growth of corruption, social injustice, and local feudal structures. The unintelligent and sometimes irresponsible siting of production forces. Departmental diktat. Ecological crimes. Dismissal of the past, the people's good traditions, and lack of attention to national history, language, and culture. These and other problems were building up for decades, but were temporarily hidden, suppressed by the reluctance to face the truth. Restructuring removed that pressure, demanded the unprejudiced analysis of facts, and included these problems in its political platform. Restructuring alone offers the possibility of dealing with them. Only joint work and a joint struggle for restructuring are capable of forging new relations of friendship, solidarity, and cooperation between peoples, true internationalism, the ideology of which is permeated by deep respect for what is national and equally deep repugnance for what is nationalist.

Characterizing the CPSU's international policy, A.N. Yakovlev stressed the significance of the honest, open, and objective analysis of contradictions, trends, and factors in world development carried out by the 27th CPSU Congress. This analysis revealed the full senselessness of nuclear war, its absolute impermissibility, and the growing significance of common human problems that, if ignored, inevitably turn into common human threats. The analysis showed that there is in the world a mighty potential for constructiveness, democracy, and sound principles, a potential that will continue to grow stronger and that is able and willing to oppose the intrigues of the forces of militarism.

Those who, for decades before, organized the "cold war," whipped up the arms race, and constructed numerous plans for an attack on the Soviet Union carried out their own analysis, in many respects fundamentally different from ours. On questions of a strategic and military-political nature this analysis, by all appearances, led that side to conclusions that largely coincide with ours. There is a growing understanding that continuing confrontation and stockpiling nuclear arms is an impasse for mankind.

Of course, shifts in the West's political thinking are only just beginning. There is a long way to go until a full understanding is reached of the futility of the policy of military strength, and still more its renunciation. Official political thinking in the West still thinks in terms of opposition and confrontation. For instance, phenomena like COCOM, trade restrictions with regard to the USSR and the socialist countries, continuing talk of the need for arms modernization, calls to be in no hurry to respond to Soviet initiatives—are not all these the legacy of the "cold war," signs of the desire not to hurry to lessen tension?

It is necessary to see and understand this and draw the appropriate political conclusions. But not in favor of continuing the confrontational approach. The new political thinking has enabled us to uncover reserves whose existence was not even suspected only a few years ago. By beginning restructuring, socialism showed that it possesses the necessary potential for tenaciousness, renewal, and development. That there operate within socialism sound, responsible forces that understand not only the complexity of the tasks, but also how they can and must be resolved.

"In reporting to the people in the course of the election campaign," M.S. Gorbachev said, speaking in Kiev, "we have the right to note the major positive changes in interational life: The threat of war has lessened, the Soviet Union's security has strengthened, the prestige of our policy in the community of states and among the public has genuinely increased. That is the chief result of our party's international activity." That is the first thing.

Second. Socialism has put forward a broad program of renewal that objectively poses and tackles not only its own problems. People all over the world are wrestling with similar questions and seeking answers. And our experience, our approaches, have a common human value.

Third. Socialism has put forward an impressive program for resolving international problems, the philosophy of the new political thinking, the new concept of world politics and its priorities, which were given concentrated expression in M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations in December 1988.

Fourth. Socialism has begun a profound internal reorganization, the objective purpose of which is to prepare itself for the long-term demands of its own development and for the demands dictated by the nature of the changing world. This makes socialism mroe dynamic and stronger and allows it to stand its ground more confidently.

Fifth. Socialism receives gladly from world experience everything that is sensible and useful. It calls for cooperation for the sake of common human values and is ready together to seek and find answers, approaches, ideas, solutions, concepts, and legal norms. Everyone is still himself, but the result will be a more sensible and humane world and mutual enrichment.

Socialism has again breathed into world development the fresh moral charge that was so badly needed. Hope is reborn, and this time it is associated with the revolution of restructuring. The international situation is still complex and contradictory enough. At the same time restructuring and the new political thinking have markedly improved the atmosphere and are continuing to change the situation for the better. The main thing is that they are opening up new opportunities for the normal development of a socialism not distorted by extremes, and for the progress of all mankind. That is the main interest common to all mankind, a really universal need.

Restructuring, A.N. Yakovlev said in conclusion, is the natural course of things, the natural development of man and society toward humanism and democracy. Toward the right and opportunity of the individual and of every people to be the conscious arbiter of their own destiny. Toward reason and responsibility, the moral principle as the core of personal and public life.

Social development cannot be completed, or else it ceases to be development. Its dialectic continually poses new problems, and they can be resolved sensibly and fully only by a highly moral society of free, creatively thinking, active, and independent people.

It is a task of special responsibility for Communists to defend the ideals and values of socialism and the legitimate interests of working people. This is defined by the results of concrete, practical actions. To live honestly and work conscientiously means to create restructuring, to move forward, to strive for a life that is increasingly worthy of man.

A.N. Yakovlev studied various aspects of the life of the Georgian SSR 23-27 February.

The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee met with representatives of the republic's creative intelligentsia. There was an animated, frank exchange of opinions on the role of cultural personalities in the spiritual and moral renewal of Soviet society, the formation of an international awareness, and the uniting of all honest people in efforts to put into practice the ideas and principles of restructuring and actively involve young people in these processes.

A.N. Yakovlev noted in his speech that democratization and glasnost have touched the deepest strata of society and lifted the veil on processes that were present to some degree in our reality but often were not taken into account. However, not everyone was ready to perceive them. Therefore the most important thing now is not to rest on our laurels but to help restructuring to achieve a breakthrough in people's mentality and thinking, through concrete actions.

A.N. Yakovlev visited the head enterprise of the "Tbilmoloko" Production Association. Today some 50 types of dairy produce are produced here. In talks with workers and employees at the enterprise attention was drawn to the need to improve quality in every way, expand the range of output, devote more attention to the enterprise's social development, create all the conditions for highly productive labor and normal leisure, and more actively master new forms of economic relations.

In the course of the talk problems of the production workers' relationship with rural workers, especially livestock workers, were also raised. It was noted that in the countryside too it is necessary to create the most favorable economic, legal, and organizational conditions to ensure the true autonomy of kolkhozes and sovkhozes and the development of various forms of cooperation.

There was a businesslike, detailed discussion with the professorial and teaching staff of the V.I. Lenin Georgian Polytechnical Institute. The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee assessed positively the multifaceted cooperation between VUZ science and production. At the same time he stressed that the present state of the economy and the prospects for its development require acceleration of the process of introducing the achievements of scientific and technical thought into economic management practice.

At Tbilisi's No 53 secondary school A.N. Yakovlev studied the organization of the educational process, including the wide computerization of studies, the intensive English-language teaching program, and the involvement of scientists in teaching. There was a lively exchange of opinions with schoolchildren and teachers.

In a talk with young artists at the "Pirosmani" club the CPSU Central Committee secretary enquired about their working conditions and noted with satisfaction the diversity of creative styles and methods in the works represented at the exhibition. A.N. Yakovlev visited the workshop of sculptor People's Artist of the USSR Merab Berdzenishvili, creator of many monuments and memorials erected in the cities of our country and abroad.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary visited the Tbilisi Palace of Solemn Rituals, the Georgian Museum of Arts, and the S. Dzhanashia State Museum of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences.

During a trip to Kakhetia he familiarized himself with the course of rstoration work at the David Garedzha historical and architectural conservation complex and talked with members of creative and amateur collectives in Telavi.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary was accompanied by D.I. Patiashvili and O.Ye. Cherkeziya, chairman of the republic Council of Ministers.

Raisa Gorbachev Meets Kiev Abbot

AU0203132689 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 22 Feb 89 p 1

[RATAU report: "Visiting a Historical and Cultural Preserve"]

[Text] The capital city of the Ukraine is unimaginable without the Kiev Pecherskiy State Historical and Cultural Preserve, blending in so well with the picturesque Dnepr slopes. It preserves unique architectural and historical monuments from various epochs, including the Berestovo 11th century Saviour Church—the burial vault of the founder of Moscow, Yuriy Dolgorukiy. Located on the abbey grounds are four museums and a number of permanent exhibitions.

On 20 February R.M. Gorbachev acquainted herself with the complex of historical and cultural monuments of ancient Rus, and with other pearls of the abbey. She manifested great interest in the spiritual sources of Slavic culture, and in the way they were kept.

In the year in which the millenium of Christianity in Rus is being celebrated, the republic's government handed a part of the Kiev Pechersk preserve edifices over to the Ukrainian Exarchy. Having acknowledged this, Abbot Yonafan, during a conversation, emphasized the additional great significance of the abbey as the institution that initiated our chronicle writing, literature, and other cultural activities.

R.M. Gorbachev planted a spruce on the abbey grounds. The guest also made an entry in the honorable visitors book of the Ukrainian Exarchy.

I.T. Frolov, assistant to the CPSU Central Committee general secretary, participated in the meeting at the abbey.

Training Course Held for Party Control Chiefs

PM0803105989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Mar 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Cadre Training"]

[Text] A training course for chairmen of the party control commissions of union republic Communist Party central committees and party kraykoms and obkoms, chairmen of kray and oblast party organizations' control and auditing commissions, and secretaries of party commissions under USSR Armed Forces political organs has ended at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences Institute for improving the qualifications of leading party, soviet, and ideological cadres.

During the training course the main attention was focused on questions of the radical democratization of internal party life and the revival of Leninist principles of party control. Great significance was attached to the response by control and auditing organs to deviations from the requirements and norms of party life, and work to cleanse the party of those who sully the name of the CPSU member, to monitor Communists' fulfillment of party and state organs' decisions, and to increase exactingness for the observance of party and state discipline and the creation of conditions ensuring the irreversibility of restructuring.

Students were addressed by the following: G.P. Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; A.P. Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; B.K. Pugo, chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee; S.I. Manyakin, chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee; G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee; I.S. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers machine building bureau; V.S. Pavlov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Prices; A.Ya. Sukharev, USSR Prosecutor General; N.Ye. Kruchina, CPSU Central Committee administrator of affairs; I.S. Gustov, first deputy chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee; P.P. Laptev, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee General Department; V.V. Ryabov and G.G. Seregin, deputy chiefs of CPSU Central Committee departments; F.D. Bobkov, first deputy chairman of the USSR KGB; V.P. Trushin, USSR first deputy minister of internal affairs; Academician L.I. Abalkin, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics; V.G. Afanasyev, chief editor of PRAVDA; N.B. Bikkenin, chief editor of KOMMUNIST; R.G. Yanovskiy, rector of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences; and executives of the CPSU Central Committee and the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee.

The students exchanged experience of work and met with scientists and journalists.

3,000 Coal Miners Went on Strike '1 Week Ago'

TA0703173089 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1700 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Approximately 1 week ago the first coal miners' strike of its kind took place in the city of Vorkuta in the northern USSR. An editor of the unofficial GLASNOST magazine told the Voice of Israel that approximately 3,000 miners participated in the strike. They adopted the name of Solidarity, and several of them even went on a hunger strike. The miners demanded the improvement of their salaries and work conditions. The coal industry minister was sent to the city and acquiesced to several of the miners' demands.

40,000 Jews Expected To Leave by End of Year

TA0203152189 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 2 Mar 89 p 3

[ITIM report]

[Text] Some 2,447 Jews left the Soviet Union in February, of which 2,117 dropped out in the Vienna transit station to go to the United States. The remaining 330 immigrated to Israel, some of them aboard direct flights from Russia via Bucharest. These figures were released by Uri Gordon, director of the Jewish Agency's Immigration Department.

In February, some 549 Christians were among those leaving the Soviet Union with Israeli visas.

According to estimates, over 3,000 Jews will be allowed to leave the Soviet Union in March. Gordon believes that by the end of 1989 the number of Jews leaving the Soviet Union will reach 40,000.

Estonians Celebrate Independence Day 24 February

Presidium Discusses Issues Involved

PM0703093789 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 19 Feb 89 p 1

[ETA report by L. Sher: "24 February Is Estonian Independence Day"]

[Text] The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decided at its 17 February session to proclaim 24 February Estonian Independence Day and to raise the Estonian national blue, black, and white flag on the Big Hermann tower on Toompea Hill.

Opening the discussion on this issue, A. Ryuytel, chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, stressed that the discussion had been prompted by numerous appeals from labor collectives, public organizations and movements, and individuals. The discussion was preceded by consultations with scholars.

Presidium member K. Kiysk spoke. On behalf of the creative intelligentsia and the Estonian SSR creative unions' United Council for Culture, he stated that the proclamation of Estonian Independence Day and the raising of the national flag on Big Hermann were an objective reflection of the Estonian people's will. The mass media have currently been publishing quite a lot of items on what happened 24 February 1918; there should therefore be no question on the choice of this date.

The support of rural working people for this decision was stated at the session by Presidium members V. Prints and E. Sakkool.

B. Moronov, deputy chairman of the Presidium, expressed doubt as to whether this will be correctly understood by people who identify the Estonian SSR state flag currently flying over Big Hermann with the Soviet system, and the blue, black, and white flag with bourgeois Estonia; he proposed that resolution of the question be postponed to some future date.

An objection was raised to this by Presidium member L. Veskimyae. She noted that the questions of a national day and national symbols are issues in whose resolution the peoples have indisputable priority—after all, the

holidays and symbols belong to them. The Estonian people have expressed their opinion on many occasions, and there are no grounds for not supporting their desire.

M. Leosk, deputy chairman of the Presidium, supporting L. Veskimyae's idea, noted that the draft decree under discussion is part of the work being carried out in the sphere of state symbols, and that all this work is based on public opinion.

Summing up the results of the discussion, A. Ryuytel stressed that changes in our country's political life are inevitably aimed at expanding the sovereignty of the union republics and developing each people's national self-awareness, which not only does not run counter to the interests of socialist society and our country but—on the contrary—serves as a way of strengthening them.

The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted the decree on Estonian Independence Day. The composition of the Commission To Draft a New Estonian SSR Constitution and Improve Constitutional Legislation, set up by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet and headed, on the decision of the republic's Supreme Soviet, by V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, was then discussed and ratified.

V. Vyalyas spoke on this issue. He noted that the commission's broad composition makes it possible to take account of the entire range of opinions and attitudes existing in the republic; it will be representative of all social strata and groups, and will make it possible to arrange the activities of commission working groups more efficiently.

A number of other issues were examined.

After the session A. Ryuytel gave an interview to journalists, in which he commented on the adoption of the decree on Estonian Independence Day.

"Stalinism and the policy of stagnation," he said, "strove to deprive the peoples of their historic memory, and distorted and falsified the past. But the people's memory cannot be erased and nobody can change the real course of history. The first independent Estonian state was proclaimed 24 February 1918 in accordance with the Leninist principles of the right of nations to self-determination. This date in no way negates the anniversaries we celebrate for the Estland Labor Commune or the Estonian SSR.

"Unfortunately even now, after many years, the blue, black, and white flag is seen as a symbol of anti-Sovietism. Restructuring has led to a great deal of reassessment, and it should be clear that dates in national history and national symbols should not be seen as something inimical to socialism, although attitudes toward them continue to be ambiguous.

"Bearing this in mind, the questions of the celebration of 24 February have been left to the discretion of local organs of power and labor collectives.

"As for the raising of the national flag on Big Hermann to replace the state flag, one hopes that this will be a ceremonial ritual, possibly with appropriate music and song—after all, the restructuring processes in Estonia are sometimes called a revolution in song. The Estonian SSR Council of Ministers has been instructed to draw up the plans for such a ritual.

"I would like to note that we are not alone in our decisions. The restoration of national history, symbols, traditions, and customs is taking place in all union republics, and the country's leadership understands this process. But the resolution of these issues is the prerogative of the union republics themselves."

Vyalyas Outlines Party's Tasks

PM0703124189 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 25 Feb 89 p 1

[ETA report: "Let Us Unite Our Aspirations. Speech by V. Vyalyas, First Secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee," at 24 February 1989 'Independence Day' meeting in Tallinn]

[Text] Esteemed people of Estonia! Today we have regained an important landmark in our history—our Independence Day. We have taken yet another major step toward the restoration of primordial rights and national awareness.

Estonia's national flag is today flying atop the Big Hermann tower. This day is one of the numerous important landmarks along the path we have traveled in the last year, a day which gives us confidence in ourselves, a sense of dignity, and hope for the future—everything that a people needs so much at crucial times.

History has treated our people harshly. Not only did it bring us sufferings, it also erected walls of misunderstanding. The Estonian Communist Party realizes this, and is not trying to evade its own share of the blame for the past. This is precisely why the Estonian Communist Party bears special responsibility before the people of Estonia for ensuring the people's reliable future. Both now and in the future, the Estonian Communist Party must be the party of the people, acting according to the people's mandate.

Major changes in the relationship between the Estonian Communist Party and the people started occurring a year ago, when the policy of restructuring launched by the party provided an outlet for our people's initiative and civic courage. We declared at our Central Committee's 11th plenum that the Estonian Communist Party would purposefully pursue a new course in life.

By now restructuring has won the approval of millions of people both in the Land of the Soviets and abroad, and the world's peoples associate with it their hopes for achieving lasting peace and overcoming shared misfortunes.

A policy leading to a secure future must grow out of the Estonian society's historical traditions. It must be based on the comprehensive and constructive influence of the interests of and spontaneous activeness by everyone—both individual citizens, families, rayons, and cities, and social groups alike. We all are, after all, completely different, and have different perceptions of the specific objectives for Estonia's future and the ways leading there. We must realize with the utmost responsibility that Estonia's destiny is in our own hands, that we ourselves are its makers, and that not a single social force can or is entitled to introduce fundamental changes into society on its own, rejecting all others. We must take a joint stand against those who place group interests above the joint building of the future.

In order to advance toward the new goals, we must create an atmosphere of mutual understanding and reciprocal consideration of each other's interests; we must build political relations on the basis of openness, honesty, and tolerance. Genuine pluralism in society means not just proclaiming the existence of different opinions, but also the need to take them into account regardless of whether we are dealing with the opinions and interests of a majority or a minority. Only a policy based on spirituality and morality is capable of uniting the abiding universal human values established in the course of civilization's development.

A policy based on morality and spirituality must protect the interests of all peoples and social groups. Only such a policy will enable us to achieve unity not only between workers, peasants, and intelligentsia, between various labor collectives and social movements and organizations, but also among us all, among people. It is such a policy that must unite and guide the actions of all Estonian forces striving for progressive and democratic goals.

Today, having regained part of our history and the people's historical memory, we are shaping a society which focuses on people, in which the economy serves people and social security generates a sense of reliability. We must not forget that all this also represents a real step toward an economically strong, viable, and humane Estonia. The implementation of republican economic accountability offers an opportunity to strengthen the economy and alleviate the concerns of our daily life. Broader opportunities thus become available to develop initiative in all spheres of activity.

Our policy will remain nothing more than words until such time as the majority of people acquire faith in the effectiveness of this policy, the results of labor are properly appreciated by society, and people sense that their skills and abilities are really needed by all. Our task is to give people this faith. A society striving for harmonious relations among people must, apart from all else, ensure a feeling of confidence in the future among the weak and the old, among young people on the threshold of independent life, and above all among young mothers.

We are striving for a society in which all people inhabiting this small parcel of land named Estonia can feel and actually be the masters, with their destiny fully and completely in their own hands. A democratic society based on respect for universal human rights and pluralism must recognize people's main values, interests, and beliefs.

The path leading to such a society is not a smooth track. It is hard to say what lies ahead, what joys or disappointments we will have to share. I am convinced that the Estonian people will display sufficient common sense and composure to respect all others.

The roots of sovereign Estonia stretch from history, through the present, into the future. The present generations realize their responsibility to the past and to the striving for a humane society in the future. So let us live up to that responsibility!

Ryuytel Addresses 'Festive Soiree'

PM0703143589 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 25 Feb 89 p 3

[ETA-attributed report by F. Kaazik and A. Ploompuu: "Festive Soiree"]

[Text] Tallinn City Hall has witnessed many significant events in its time. February 24, when Estonian Independence Day was celebrated there, was no exception. People came there from all over the republic in order to celebrate the holiday together and to exchange impressions and thoughts. The hall was packed.

The soiree began with a performance of a song that everyone knows: "My Motherland, My Love."

A. Ryuytel, chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, approached the microphone.

Dear people here in this hall and throughout Estonia!

I wholeheartedly greet you on behalf of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the republic's government on Estonian Independence Day, which we are once again celebrating together after a lapse of many decades. On this day 71 years ago, the Estonian Maapyaeva Council of Elders (Zemstvo Council) published the "Manifesto for All Peoples of Estonia," which proclaimed Estonia an independent, democratic republic within its historic and ethnic borders. Sovereign statehood—a great and sacred principle—was declared for

the first time in the history of the Estonian people. Here on this scrap of land on the shores of the Baltic Sea we had fought for truth, justice, and freedom for millennia.

Historical facts are not subject to our will, they cannot be changed by being hushed up. The new political situation prevailing in our country has also opened up opportunities for the honest revelation of history and the restoration of historical truth. It is certainly no accident that the restoration of true history was one of the focal issues in last year's political events in Estonia. The restoration of the people's historical memory was one of the most effective manifestations of national rebirth and at the same time a tangible result of the process of democratization.

National symbols are again honored in Estonia. At sunrise today the blue, black, and white national flag that for a century symbolized Estonians' national aspirations was unfurled on top of the ancient Big Hermann tower. A respectful attitude toward your people's past and respect for your forebears' labor and deeds is a matter of political culture, but also a norm of general human ethics which must be followed if a nation is to be strong and viable.

The proclamation of Estonia's independence 71 years ago was no accident, it arose from the entire previous history of the Estonians and was explained by the general logic of the development of the ethnos. Historical experience has proved everywhere that, as nations' self-awareness develops, they have always sought an independent existence and their own state, for national statehood creates the most favorable conditions for their preservation and development. National statehood is a reality in today's world, and the right of nations to self-determination has pride of place among the internationally recognized human rights enshrined in the USSR and Estonian SSR Constitutions, the UN Charter, the documents of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and other international pacts.

Today, when we honestly survey the Estonian people's past, we can see that Estonia was ruled by a foreign power, and this brought indescribable suffering, verging on a threat of the nation's extinction.

But the Estonian people never resigned themselves to the fate that had been foisted on them, preserving their language and culture through the centuries and handing down from generation to generation the slogan born in the fires of St George's night [14th century uprising]: To be free and to become the genuine masters of our land.

Material and spiritual conditions are required for national and state independence. In the second half of the 19th century and the early 20th century Estonian society gathered strength and the national liberation movement grew and was intensified by the revolutionary events of 1905 and 1917. The economic, political, and cultural preconditions required for self-determination gradually ripened. In defiance of the predictions of the Baltic barons and the policy of Russification, the Estonians became a nation with a developed self-awareness capable of determining their own fate for themselves.

By the crucial year of 1905 all the Estonian parties and social movements of the time were demanding autonomy for Estonia, within various limits and in various forms, it is true. Of course, any national autonomy, even the most modest, was sheer utopia and an unattainable ideal then.

Only the 1917 revolutionary wave and one of the first acts of Soviet power—the "Declaration of the Rights of Russia's Peoples"—for the first time opened up the road to self-determination and state independence for the oppressed peoples of the Russian empire. In those difficult days V.I. Lenin advised the Estonian Bolsheviks to proclaim an independent Estonian state, but the Estonian Bolsheviks remained committed to a unitary Russian state and territorial autonomy. The initiative on the question of independence passed to the Estonian bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties, which at that moment were better able to grasp the demand of the time and to understand the people's aspirations.

The elections of the Estonian Constituent Assembly in both January 1918 and April 1919 confirmed that a considerable majority of the people supported the formation of an Estonian republic with a democratic state structure, which would make it possible to get rid of the torments of war and anarchy and would bring the people peace, land, and freedom.

The Estonian people's desire for independence was reflected in the Tartu peace treaty, which ended the war between the Estonian republic and Soviet Russia. The RSFSR became the first state in the world to legally recognize the Estonian republic.

It was through the Estonian republic that we first entered the world arena and were shown on maps as an independent and autonomous state. The Estonian people became a sovereign people and a member of the League of Nations. The Estonian people's age-old persistent desire for self-determination and an independent state existence was thereby implemented. As we can see and feel even today, this historic event made an indelible mark on the consciousness and hearts of the Estonian people.

The 20-year experience of independence confirmed that the Estonian people were capable of coping with their affairs themselves. The Estonian republic functioned successfully in terms of the conditions and potential of that time. Within a short time the national economy was consolidated and an agrarian reform was carried out. The cooperative movement in Estonia was one of the most developed in Europe. Great successes were achieved in the field of culture, education, and science. Estonia's national minorities were granted cultural

autonomy. The national society greatly valued labor. There was both poverty and dissatisfaction, which found expression in class struggle. The past cannot be forgotten, but you can advance only from the point at which you now find yourself. We have set ourselves a just goal—restoring Estonia's sovereignty. But we must have a clear idea of what can be done right now, what can be done tomorrow, and what can only be done still later. We do not live in an isolated world. Both internal and external factors must be taken into account.

The opinion is sometimes expressed that we are moving forward too slowly. Indeed, the state of the economy and people's living standards have not improved as much as we would have liked. But let us remember the situation just a year ago. Even the boldest optimists did not hope for so much change in just a year. I am referring to the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee 11th and 13th Plenums and the fundamental documents adopted by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet—the declaration on sovereignty, the decisions on protecting the environment, and much else. We have the Law on Language, whose implementation ensures protection of the indigenous nationality's native language and does not violate the interests of Estonian residents of other nationalities. We are preparing to introduce Estonian SSR citizenship and many other legislative acts, including a new constitution. Elaboration of the Estonian self-management program is nearing completion. And today's revival of Estonian Independence Day attests to the changes and inspires us to action.

The Estonian people and all residents of Estonia want to live worthy and happy lives. We want to see our land a free, democratic, economically developed republic. In order to achieve this, we must have sufficient willpower, boldness, and wisdom to travel further along the path of profound political and economic reforms, the path of sovereignty [suverennost].

Sovereignty means that we are full masters of our land, reach decisions ourselves, take action ourselves, and ourselves answer for the fate of our people. We recognize the national traditions of all the peoples living in Estonia and their languages as the basis of national culture and we create the conditions for cultural autonomy. In return we are entitled to expect respect for the language and culture of Estonia's indigenous nation and its national rights and aspirations for sovereignty. We want to develop economic and cultural cooperation with all the Soviet peoples, and also with neighboring states, and we want to make our contribution to cooperation among European countries and to improving international life.

February 24, a date we will celebrate each year, is not only a historic milestone. It is a symbol that teaches us a great deal. The entire people of Estonia support the course of restructuring, which has created the preconditions for implementing our aspirations. We want an open society, all-pervading democracy for the whole people, and a worthy life in a rule-of-law state that guarantees protection for every person and every people.

May the blue, black, and white national flag, whose colors symbolize genuine humanist aspirations—happiness and freedom beneath the blue skies of Estonia—hoisted on the Big Hermann tower be a landmark on the difficult road toward implementing our common ideals.

Happy Estonian Independence Day to you!

The soiree continued with performances by the soloists, choir, and orchestra of the "Estoniya" theater, the boys' choir of the State Academy of Music and Arts, and the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences male voice choir. We asked one of the conductors, USSR People's Artist Eri Klas, to share his impressions of the concert.

"The song that was performed at the start of the concert characterizes today's whole soiree best of all," he said. "There was no need to actually compile today's program, it was dictated by life itself. In the language of art we talked of the people, their traditions, and their unity, from children to gray-haired old people.

"In the 50 years of my lifetime the grimmest memories were of the war, and one of the brightest will be the memory of today."

The soiree was attended by comrades V. Vyalyas, M. Pedak, E.A. Sillari, M. Titma, I. Toome, A. Soydla, and others.

Toome Urges Unity Under Tricolor

PM0703132789 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 25 Feb 89 p 3

[ETA report: "Estonia's Flag Through the Ages. Speech by I. Toome, chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers," at 24 February 1989 'Independence Day' meeting in Tallinn]

[Text] Dear people of Estonia!

Esteemed guests, the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, and the republic's government greet you on Estonian Independence Day.

There are many states and peoples, large and small, on our home planet, and there are as many state and national flags ranging through the entire color spectrum. The centuries of peoples' history are reflected in their flags. There is nothing accidental in a flag's colors or signs. Every color and every symbol on a flag has its own importance and its own association with the history of the state and the people, with their present and their aspirations. The greatest feats in mankind's history were accomplished beneath unfurled flags, but the most revolting crimes have also been committed in their

shadow. Valiant seafarers and explorers of new lands, when sailing into the unknown, drew spiritual strength from the flags waving above their heads. But there were also occasions when chaos spread and states and peoples were destroyed beneath "sacred" flags. The banners of monarchy were consumed by the flames of revolution, to be replaced by the banners of liberty, equality, and fraternity. Many peoples had to travel long roads and suffer harsh trials to win the right to fly their own flag. This struggle continues to this day; new flags come into existence to this day.

A flag unites and is a source of strength if it inspires a people to struggle for freedom, sovereignty, and human dignity. In the Estonian people's history, the blue-black-white color combination on their flag represented and symbolized the Estonian people among other peoples long before the emergence of their own statehood. This tricolor emerged as a symbiosis of national awareness, national unity, and ideological aspirations. Even today the blue sky of hope stretches high above every inhabitant of Estonia; we all stand trustfully together on the black soil, keeping alive the memory of the harsh past and hoping, in fraternal unity, for a bright, beautiful, and better future.

The Communist Party's course of fundamental reorganization of sociopolitical and economic life in the Land of the Soviets has awakened the Estonian people's feelings and their faith in their ability to abandon dogmas and prejudices; it has set tasks worthy of the application of spiritual energy and will—free and dignified autonomous existence for all Soviet peoples within a single union.

Estonians have lived for centuries along these rocky shores of the Baltic and, while struggling for their existence, nurtured hopes for their own statehood. The dream of being equal and recognized members of the family of the world's peoples, handed down from generation to generation in the course of complex historical upheavals, materialized. That day came. An independent Estonian state was proclaimed on 24 February 1918.

If truth be told, everything possible has been done in recent decades to erase that day from our memory, but the people carried it fresh in their minds like a piece of history which was impossible to either reverse or render nonexistent. History is also part of the present. The present will become a tiny pebble in the endless historical mosaic, and each one of these pebbles—individually and as part of the entire mosaic—occupies its own and only possible position.

This day—24 February 1989—when our national flag is raised atop the Big Hermann tower, will remain an important landmark in Estonian history. Let the tricolor fluttering in the cold winter wind above Kaleva Hill symbolize the onset of bright times for its people. Let the blue-black-white unite us all on this tiny plot of land which the winds of history and the decrees of fate have destined to be our home. Let us unite our hands, hearts, and minds to make it worthy of our shared dreams.

History, Meaning of Estonian Flag

PM2802143589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Feb 89 p 1

[Own correspondent I. Teterin commentary answering reader's letter under the rubric "Fact and Commentary": "Who Is Beneath the Flags?"; first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Text] My nephew went to live in Estonia after leaving the Army. He works at a plant in Tallinn. We have begun to be worried about him. So many strange things are said about Estonia nowadays. In order to keep abreast of events we have even subscribed to the newspaper MOLODEZH ESTONII. We learned from it that the Estonians are celebrating Independence Day on 24 February. They want to raise the blue, black, and white flag instead of the red one. How are we to understand this? Is Estonia really going to leave the USSR?
[signed] M. Pavlova, Pskov Oblast

On 24 February, an unusual flag was raised on the Pikk Hermann Tower in Tallinn.

On 24 February, hundreds of thousands of Estonian citizens celebrated Independence Day.

So, what exactly are these flags? And what kind of day is Independence Day?

The blue, black, and white flag was conceived by Estonian students at the end of the last century. Its colors symbolized the following: Blue for the pure skies above, black for the fertile earth, and white for the pure soul of the people. Later, the flag came to symbolize the aspiration of the entire nation to consolidation and self-determination. February 24 is the day the Estonian state was formed.

During the October revolution, Estonia was a reliable bastion of Bolshevik forces. The Soviets took power here even a little earlier than in Petrograd. But it is not so broadly known that on the eve of 1918 V.I. Lenin proposed to the eminent Estonian revolutionary, J. Anvelt, that an independent Estonian Soviet Republic be proclaimed. Unfortunately, the Estonian Bolsheviks had not thoroughly studied the significance of the national factor in the revolution and rejected Lenin's idea of forming an independent state. As a result, the revolution was killed with the bayonets of the interventionists and the first Estonian state was a bourgeois state.

To this day the national tricolor is a clear symbol for the Estonian people—as is February 24, which laid the foundations of statehood for a small people who had lived under the authority of a host of different monarchs for more than seven centuries. And, whether we like it or

not, Estonia's present position logically stems from its past statehood. After all, it joined the Soviet federation in 1940 as an independent, sovereign state. And, what is more, we should emphasize that it joined this federation in order to feel confident and secure as part of the USSR and enjoy every right to full-value national development.

That is why the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium approved the decision to celebrate 24 February as Estonian Independence Day and raise the national tricolor on the tower. The decision was preceded by a lively debate. Even the members of the Presidium had different feelings on the matter. But the decree was signed, the point and significance of which A. Ryuytel, chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, commented on as follows:

"On 24 February 1918 the first independent Estonian state was really proclaimed—in accordance with the Leninist principle of nations' right to self-determination. This date certainly does not negate the anniversaries of the Estland Labor Commune and the Estonian SSR that we celebrate. Restructuring has led to the reassessment of a great many things, and it should be clear that dates of national history and national symbols must not be regarded as something hostile to socialism, although attitudes toward them still vary.

"I would be sinning against the truth if I tried to claim that the blue, black, and white flag on Pikk Hermann Tower was received enthusiastically by everyone living in the republic. I myself heard a number of people mention the words 'withdrawal,' 'rolling back,' and 'restoration' on the eve of 24 February. But I also feel it is necessary to mention another aspect of the problem. Fairly vociferous extremist groups, albeit small, such as the 'party for national independence,' have now begun to establish themselves in Estonia and are openly in favor of the republic's seceding from the USSR. This cheap intrigue is doing Estonia harm—in its international relations and in its relations within the Soviet Union.

"I will not make these claims without giving you proof. At the beginning of February an Estonian party and government delegation returned from Finland. Sharing their impressions from their meetings with their northern neighbors, the members of the delegation were forced to stress that 'the Finns take a very disapproving view of any attempts on our part to set Estonia in opposition to the rest of the Soviet Union' and that 'many countries have an interest in developing relations with Estonia, but they want to deal with reliable partners and not separatists.'"

Estonia's Toome on Republican Accountability Plan
PM0703113089 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 19 Feb 89 p 3

[ETA interview with I. Toome, chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers, conducted by K. Pere: "At the CPSU Central Committee Politburo in Moscow: Conversation With I. Toome, Chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers"; date, place of interview not stated; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] It is not every day that leaders of the republics are invited to a CPSU Central Committee Politburo session. That is what happened last Thursday. Three Estonian representatives were among those invited to be present—V. Vyalas, A. Ryuytel, and I. Toome. What was the reason? This was the first question we put to I. Toome.

[Toome] The usual thing—restructuring. The direction our country has taken means, by its very nature, that important decisions can be taken only after consultation with the union republics. True, this time there was a special reason for bringing in the top leaders of the republics—the question of the republics going over to economic accountability was discussed. The title of the draft resolution was formulated differently and was slightly longer, but that makes no difference.

There was also another subject of interest to everyone on the agenda—the country's financial position and ways of improving it. In fact it was financial matters that were discussed first, and then economic accountability. That has a kind of logic. After all, we, like others, expect economic accountability to improve the republics' financial position, which should also replenish the coffers of the state as a whole.

[Pere] Money is essential, of course, but readers are perhaps most interested in the transition to republican economic accountability. In particular, whether the all-union view of the problem coincides with our IME [meaning Estonian self-management; "ime" also means "miracle" in Estonian] program.

[Toome] Let me answer this question in rather broader terms. The discussion that took place on Thursday has its own prehistory. We all remember the 19th all-union party conference and the amendment to one of the draft resolutions made by our republic's delegation, concerning economic accountability. Then there were a series of discussions at various levels—some more and some less businesslike. There was an important continuation of these discussions in two conferences at the USSR Council of Ministers under N.I. Ryzhkov's chairmanship. Representatives of all the republics took part in these, too. The conferences were very impassioned. Last November the only point on which unanimity was reached was that there is no reasonable alternative to economic accountability. More than a month of joint work followed, in the course of which representatives of union departments, the country's leading economists, and the chairmen of the republican Gosplans outlined, by joint efforts, the basic principles of regional economic accountability. This stage ended with the drawing up of an initial draft resolution. True, unanimity has yet to be reached. Estonian SSR Gosplan Chairman R. Otsason then recorded an opinion in defense of our positions of principle. We discussed this all-union draft seriously with republican scientists and specialists. Jointly, on the basis of the IME principles, we formulated our view and put it forward clearly at the January conference at the

USSR Council of Ministers. Following this path, we have now reached a new level—the level of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

It is gratifying that as matters develop, the all-union view of the problem is also becoming increasingly radical, approaching our IME concept.

Thus many of our fundamental proposals are today reflected in the basic principles for the transition. As an example, let me mention the autonomy of the budget, the requirement for trade exchange to be mutually advantageous and on equal terms, the transfer of the management of the social sphere to the republic, and so forth. And, of course, that the proportion of output from enterprises entirely under republican jurisdiction should increase from the present 50, or in some places 30 percent (the differences between union republics here are considerable), to at least 60-75 percent of the total volume of output.

These principles accord with our ideas on republican economic accountability, and we support them in every way.

[Pere] What do you not agree with? Did you express your view in Moscow?

[Toome] Yes, of course. After all, there is no point in taking part in politics today unless you can argue in support of your viewpoint.

In Moscow, the day before the session we were able to study the latest edition of the materials prepared. This gave us food for very serious thought and discussion. Many of our economic experts, as well as V. Vyalyas and A. Ryuytel, also took part in the work, having traveled to Moscow especially. Thus we formulated a common position, which I presented at the session.

What I said can be summed up in three points.

First. We are convinced that, at least in Estonia, the first stage of economic accountability should begin on 1 January 1990. Hitherto the general understanding in the country has been that there was not time to begin before the next 5-year plan. So we repeated that we consider it correct to begin earlier. After all, that is what we decided at the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee plenum, and also in the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet. The people support this decision.

Second. We stressed that there is no need to fear different approaches to economic accountability in different republics. After all, there is nothing wrong with trying different models at the same time. It will only help to ensure that each region and each republic finds the most appropriate economic management method for its specific economic, historical, and cultural features. The need to allow for diversity is noted in the document; we only emphasized it, considering it necessary for union law to define only the basic principles, leaving the republics broad scope for activity and room for experiment and initiative.

And another thing. In our opinion, the slogan "Strong center—strong republics," which has recently become widespread, is not quite true. Another formula is more appropriate to the principles of economic accountability: "Strong republics—a strong union." The "strong center" is a concept that requires interpretation. I am sure many people would be pleased to understand it as meaning, first and foremost, strong departments, but today the center of gravity lies elsewhere—in the extension of the rights of union republics and their sovereignty.

We also said that the fear of radical, comprehensive solutions is still acting as a severe brake on the implementation of economic reform. It is time to get rid of this fear. At the same time we supported the proposal that before the law is adopted there should be a nationwide discussion.

[Pere] What did the other speakers say? What was their opinion of what you said?

[Toome] The discussion was animated. In all, 12 people spoke on this item on the agenda. Many interesting ideas were expressed, but there were also speeches in which there was nothing to write in your notebook except the speaker's name. Sometimes it looked as if a particular speaker had not yet discovered the concept of restructuring for himself. But the prevailing spirit was one of businesslike, serious discussion. Our viewpoint was heard with interest. We received much support. For instance, the Lithuanians and Latvians supported the idea of beginning the switch to economic accountability in the new year. Belorussia put forward the same idea. It was also spoken of by USSR Gosplan Chairman Yu. Maslyukov, who extended it to Moscow, the Tatar ASSR, and Sverdlovsk Oblast. Beforehand we had received the support in principle of N. Ryzhkov, and now the general secretary joined in that support. There was also support for the view that different initial conditions should be taken into account, and someone has to experiment and be the pioneer.

[Pere] And what was the outcome of the discussion, what was decided?

[Toome] Summing up, M.S. Gorbachev stressed that economic accountability is a question of big politics, the sovereignty of republics. And that is certainly true. It is a key issue in restructuring, the start of a new stage of political reform. The question of the relationship between the central authorities and the republic was and is paramount. Here all of us together have a lot more thinking to do.

In general the document merits support. It is a step forward along the path of democratization and decentralization. This was the conclusion—the principles are worthy of approval, but that does not mean that they are final. A discussion will follow, in the course of which the people could contribute many good ideas. Our priority task in Estonia is to continue intensive work on the IME concept. We hope to arrive at the first legislative documents by 15 March. They will then be discussed and, one hopes, approved by our Supreme Soviet. And then—back to Moscow. Achieving our goals is not an easy task, but it is possible, if we all really want it.

[Pere] And finally, could you tell us briefly about the other Moscow news?

[Toome] The state's financial position is serious. The money supply is growing, savings are growing, the foreign debt is growing, inflation is increasingly making itself felt, we are not likely to eliminate the budget deficit soon, and so forth. The situation was assessed in depth and soberly. We must economize and manage sensibly. There are many means of doing this. Reduce defense spending, plan capital investments more sensibly, reduce stocks of unsaleable commodities, reduce the volume of uncompleted construction, increase consumer goods production and trade turnover, and so forth.

Very radical ideas were proposed. For instance, to sell boldly to the population the stockpiles that have accumulated at army stores. Naturally, only the things that are useful in peaceful daily life. Subsidies to lossmaking enterprises should be abandoned, and so forth.

One thing is clear: We must economize, but not at the expense of the well-being of large families, pensioners, and workers in the social sphere. This is how I, for one, see the way to improve our financial position: The total restructuring of the economic mechanism should become our top priority.

In conclusion, I would like to share another worry. An all-union resolution on the further development of foreign economic ties came out in December. It was correct and promising. That is perhaps why it caused such concern in some central departments, which are now proposing all kinds of ideas, such as substantially reducing the list of goods that may be sold autonomously. They want foreign trade once again to come under the control of all-union specialized foreign trade associations. This news reached the republic before we returned from Moscow with the relevant piece of paper. So once again there is work to do. We will have to fight for our rights, and the government will do this. We do not agree with this departmental solution, and we have already sent a telegram to Moscow to say so.

[Pere] So will it be possible to meet the plane from Moscow next time, too?

[Toome] Not only possible, but necessary. The people should know not only how we are handling our affairs at home, but also how we handle them in Moscow. Thank you for the interview.

Latvian Candidate Deputies' Programs Outlined

PM0203165889 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 9, 26 Feb 89 p 13

[Ayvars Baumanis report: "Primary Elections in Riga"]

[Text] Riga's territorial constituency No 708 has registered its candidates for people's deputies. Along with Yanis Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party, and other prominent leaders, two founders of the Latvia's movement for national independence—Eynars Repse, 28, editor of the unofficial magazine "Neatkariba" (independence), and engineer Yuris Dobelis, a member of the Duma (council) of Latvia's National Front—became official candidates.

The latter two men presented their fairly radical programmes at the district primary pre-election. Eynars Repse, for instance, believes that the present political and economic crisis in his Republic is a direct result of "Latvia's loss of independence in 1940". According to him, the only way to overcome the crisis lies in Latvia's secession from the USSR.

Yuris Dobelis' programme is more moderate. He believes it is totally inadmissible to have virtually all problems solved by the cnetral authorities. Decentralization of power is his main concern.

The leader of the Latvian Communist Party, Yanis Vagris, stressed in his address that Eynars Repse's programme was unacceptable, but he nevertheless considered his participation in the democratic election campaign necessary. "My understanding of Latvia's sovereignty is different," Yanis Vagris said. "To be sovereign, our Republic must become self-supporting—naturally within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

All in all, at the primary election it was decided, by majority vote, to register the six candidates proposed in various precincts, thus giving the voters a real opportunity to decide for themselves, on election day, which of the six should represent and defend their interests in this country's highest body of state authority.

Actors in Riga Protest Reporting Restrictions

LD0703110789 Stockholm International Service in Swedish 1030 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] In the Latvian capital of Riga yesterday, the police detained a group of actors demonstrating outside the Communist Party headquarters. The actors were protesting against new rules which would restrict television journalists' reporting. A member of the Latvian People's

Front told the REUTERS news bureau that the actors were released when the theaters of Riga cancelled their evening performances in protest.

Three Demonstators Face Punishment

LD0803091189 Moscow TASS in English 1838 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Riga March 7 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Viktor Silins:

Three persons out of twenty-six detained by Riga militia late on March 6 for breaking the peace will face administrative punishment. They are accused of resisting representatives of authorities as they tried to restore order on streets of the Latvian capital during an unauthorised demonstration.

"Dozens of people with posters came to protest at the criticism against the republican radio and television," Latvia's Interior Minister Bruno Steinbrik, told TASS on Tuesday.

For some time now, party and state bodies have indicated that the activity of television and radio journalists in the republic show trends leading to the escalation of inter-ethnic confrontation.

Representatives of several informal groups disagree this view.

"Interior Ministry officers have nothing against meetings and demonstrations," Steinbrik pointed out, "provided the organisers comply with laws."

"This time, picketer's unsanctioned actions hampered public transport. They were offered to disperse, but some of the protesters start insulting militiamen. The behaviour of Janis Ozols, an activist of the controversial 'Helsinki- 86' group, was especially outrageous."

After an informative conversation in one of the city's militia precincts, most of the wrongdoers were allowed to go. But disorders, triggered off by the same motives, recurred on March 7th.

Ethnic Bias of Lithuanian Media Criticized

PM0703152589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Mar 89 First Edition p 4

["Letter to the Editor" by SOVETSKAYA LITVA correspondent A. Lobkov: "National-Pluralism, or How I Became a Guest in My Own Home"]

[Text] All my adult life—more than 20 years—I have lived in Lithuania. Many of my friends and acquaintances are Lithuanians. I have learned Lithuanian and grown fond of the hardworking and hospitable people of this Baltic republic.

I wholeheartedly welcome the national revival which billowed forth in the middle of last year. I saw the entry of the Lithuanian movement for restructuring, "Sayudis," into the political arena as a giant step forward on the path of the democratization of our society. I assumed that the national revival would help solve more quickly the very acute social problems that have accumulated in the republic.

But time passed and the topic of interethnic relations became increasingly acute, pushing everything else off the pages of newspapers and journals and off the air and obscuring horizons, both near and far. The media essentially stopped paying attention to the lack of essential goods in stores, to infant mortality, and to the existence of privileged families and a nomenklatura gravy train, and other topical themes.

Then there was the first clash on a trolleybus: two youths, seeing me reading a book written in Russian, called me a chauvinist. Then came some unrepeatable abuse, accompanied by the following commentary: Do you think you have become a Lithuanian just because you have learned Lithuanian?

To be honest, I was beginning to have fears that the national revival would develop into nationalism and everything that goes with it. My apprehensions grew when I read, saw, and heard accounts of the 12 February rally near the Palace of Sport. It was attended by people who did not agree with the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Decree "On the use of the state language of the Lithuanian SSR" and with the exacerbation of interethnic relations that had taken place in the republic.

I was at the rally. I saw the faces of the people there. They were not the faces of layabouts, but of people worried about the future, about their children's future, which had become vague and uncertain because of the decree's vague wording regarding the right to work and education of the foreign-language population of Lithuania. I would emphasize—not only Russians, but also Poles, Belorussians, and others. The spirit of internationalism that reigned at the forum is indicated by the mere fact that as well as speeches in Russian, there were also speeches in Polish and Lithuanian.

Although I would not go along with all the ideas expressed by all the speakers, I am prepared to have a calm debate with these people if need be. Indeed, a calm, unprejudiced, and objective debate, not in the way that the city and republic press, radio, and television covered the rally.

I will start with VECHERNIYE NOVOSTI. R. Tarayla, a correspondent on this city newspaper, citing verbatim the text of the "Yedinstvo" appeal, which contains the main thoughts expressed subsequently by the speakers at the rally, expressed the hope that the "rally participants would resist such pronouncements." But when these hopes were not borne out he pretended to be surprised

that the sky had not fallen in. He wrote with obvious irony about the demands to set up VUZ's in Lithuania for ethnic minorities, start publication of a republic journal in Polish, and set up a Polish academy drama theater.

The position of KOMJAUNIMO TIESA (KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA) was unequivocal. Aside from an unobjective commentary, its editorial office printed an article signed by six writers who believe that the people's actions in defense of their rights are due to "malice among certain chauvinistically minded individuals and groupings," while the speakers are called "frantic people making extrademagogic pronouncements."

The authors compare the Russians, Poles, and other members of non-Lithuanian nationalities in Lithuania to the Turks in the FRG, who went to that country to "earn good money and live well." The sweat and blood shed by members of other nationalities who helped the Lithuanian people to rebuild ruined cities and villages in the grim postwar period are unimportant, as is the fact that the roots of many Russian, Polish, and Jewish families in Lithuania go back centuries. It is unimportant. The main thing is to legalize the Lithuanian language (as if anyone was trying to ban it!). The main thing is that Lithuanians "should feel they are in charge...."

In my view, republic television and radio simply do not stand up to criticism. The first report on the rally amounted to showing a woman carrying some bags. The radio accompanied the speeches with a recording of a dog barking. Commentary is superfluous, one might say.

But despite these outbursts, my attitude toward my comrades, friends, and colleagues of Lithuanian nationality has not changed. It is just that I hate nationalism even more. Let those who are trying to drive a wedge between our peoples not think that they will succeed. Fortunately they are not yet the people. Better to go and listen to what they are saying at industrial enterprises, on the streets....

Soviet Official Interviewed on Religion in Latvia

AU0703150389 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 24-26 Feb 89 p 9

[Interview with Eduards Kokars-Trops, plenipotentiary with responsibility for the Latvian SSR of the Council of Religious Affairs attached to the USSR Council of Ministers, by Zdislaw Szuba: "Today Catholics Are the Most Active"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Szuba] Could you tell us something about Kazimierz Dulbinski, who was unable to perform his duties as bishop until recently? What is his current position?

[Kokars-Trops] Bishop Dulbinski, who is currently 83, was imprisoned for many years, and until recently he was not allowed to perform any kind of liturgical rites in Latvia. On his release from prison, he lived in Belorussia for some time with a relative of his, a priest. He was recently rehabilitated. To the extent that his health permits, he takes part in important church ceremonies. For example, he took part in the consecration of Bishop Nuksz. The ceremony took place at St Jacob's Roman Catholic Cathedral in Riga in December 1987.

Although the Evangelical Lutheran Church is considered to be numerically the largest denomination in Latvia, in actual fact the Roman Catholic Church is stronger. [passage omitted]

The Roman Catholic Church is "in the lead," if one can put it that way, in terms of the number of the faithful who are actively involved in church life. If about 70-80 percent of Lutherans are actively involved in the life of their church community, primarily by way of attending services, then the number of practicing Catholics is almost twice as high. On average, the number of believers attending mass in every Catholic church on a Sunday is even four times higher than in the Protestant chapels. [passage omitted]

[Szuba] You mentioned that, according to statistical information, almost 100 percent of young people who are believers acquired their religious convictions in the home or through close relatives. What is the current situation regarding religious education in Latvia in light of the Soviet authorities' new approach toward religious matters?

[Kokars-Trops] [passage omitted] We can expect that the new state law on freedom of conscience that is being drawn up will contain new formulations and provisions concerning this issue and will take better account of the needs of believers. It will take into consideration needs pertaining to the provision of religious education by the church. Of course, this is a matter for the church itself, as the principle that schools should be of a secular character will be preserved. Parents and church authorities themselves will have to decide whether religious education should be provided privately, on an individual or group basis, whether it should take place in church premises or in the home, and whether instructors will be priests or lay people. [passage omitted]

[Szuba] A lot is currently being said in the Soviet Union about the need to create opportunities for the conduct of charitable work that seems so appropriate for a church. What is the situation like in Latvia in this respect?

[Kokars-Trops] Actually a charitable organization with a broad social character is being set up in Latvia—similar to the ones that exist in Moscow and in Leningrad. Non-believers and members of various churches or religions can be involved in its work. In addition, there are the initiatives that have been launched by individual

religious communities. For example, Baptists are looking after the sick in hospitals, and members of the Orthodox Church have started organizing a home for the elderly and would like Protestants and Catholics to become involved in the work.

[Szuba] Thank you.

Karchev Details New Law on Freedom of Religion
PM0703155289 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 4 Mar 89 p 13

[Interview with Konstantin Karchev, chairman of the Soviet Council for Religious Affairs, by Ezio Mauro in Moscow; date not given]

[Text] Moscow— Mikhail Gorbachev announced it at the last Central Committee plenum as one of the great reforms in restructuring in 1989. Now, after months of meticulous and laborious work, with secret drafts and negotiations, the new law on freedom of religion is ready. The final draft has been given to religious organizations of all faiths. When all the churches have passed on their observations, the text will be submitted to the Soviet and will be published and discussed. It is the first time since Lenin's 1918 decree on the separation of church and state that the USSR has reviewed its laws to give a new place to freedom of conscience and to religious organizations, turning state atheism into party atheism within a more secular state which is theoretically neutral between the religious and Marxist options.

"There has been a struggle in this sphere too, a bitter struggle between progressives on the one hand and conservatives on the other," Konstantin Karchev, chairman of the USSR's Council for Religious Affairs, revealed. "After preaching that socialism and religion are implacable enemies throughout their lives, those who want a return to the past cannot stop now. They may still try to influence the new law, amending it as it progresses, but they can no longer stop it. I think that the new Soviet will discuss it at its first session."

[Mauro] Minister Karchev, after 60 years what is changing for religion in the country which is officially godless?

[Karchev] Many things. But the main thing is that believers of any faith will no longer be second-class citizens, as all too often happens even today. And to achieve that result, several things will have to change in the USSR, including civil and penal legislation and even the Constitution.

[Mauro] Do you mean that article 52, which allows atheist propaganda but not the freedom to preach religion, will be revised?

[Karchev] I think that this constitutional discrimination between atheists and believers must end. Atheists are now free to engage in propaganda, whereas believers can only discuss their faith in church or in the authorized press organs of which very few copies are printed. Believers and nonbelievers must have equal right to express themselves. Essentially, this is a return to Lenin because in the first Constitution in 1918 atheists and believers were given equal rights to express their ideas.

[Mauro] Does this mean that the Constitution will be amended?

[Karchev] A law cannot change the Constitution. I think that this—rewriting article 52—can be done by a people's referendum. But meanwhile, the new law on freedom of conscience can change things in practice.

[Mauro] How?

[Karchev] By ensuring that atheist propaganda becomes a matter for the party, not the state. This is a step forward on the path toward separating the party and the state—a path which the USSR is travelling with restructuring. The state must have nothing to do with religious belief, and not with atheism either, and propaganda on the latter must not be financed by the state budget—this money belongs to everybody, including believers.

[Mauro] But how will believers be able to publicly bear witness to their faith? Will the old ban on the church teaching the catechism finally be lifted?

[Karchev] It must be lifted. The new law will allow anybody who wishes to teach religion privately—and to organize a group for this purpose and ask for a priest's help—to do so in peace. That is part of the citizen's private life: The state must not interfere.

[Mauro] But that is not the problem: Will they be able to hold religious lessons in churches, mosques, and synagogues?

[Karchev] Yes. Priests will be able to teach at home, and parents who wish to give religious instruction to their children will be able to take them to church. If the state really is "separate," it must not interfere; that is not its business. The public authorities can limit believers' activities only in two cases: if they are activities directed against the state or a threat to security. Aside from that, if the state really wishes to be "nonreligious," as Lenin said, it must keep separate.

[Mauro] Should this withdrawal by the state into a kind of Soviet-style secularism be simply an act of goodwill required by restructuring, or will it be an obligation imposed by the law?

[Karchev] The law will see to that. First by recognizing the churches as legal organizations: Some elements of that status already existed, because churches can already own cars, build houses for the clergy, and so forth. But they do not have the full rights of legal entities, and therefore cannot turn to the courts to defend their rights.

[Mauro] As a legal entity, will the church therefore be able to be active in deed as well as in word, by giving charity, which is now forbidden?

[Karchev] Yes. And I must point out that, in practice, charity has been accepted for some time: In the absence of a law, we compensated with "instructions" from our Council for Religious Affairs.

[Mauro] But the state's broader and more discretionary power over religion stems from each religious organization's obligation to request "permission" to exist. Will the law eliminate this dependency?

[Karchev] It will eliminate the obligation to seek "permission," and therefore also the state's discretionary power to grant it. The religious body—a circle, parish, or organization—will be created at will, without any need to request permission. If 10 or 20 Soviet citizens wish to meet in a group to pray together, they will be able to organize without problems. They will only have to inform the authorities of their existence if they want their organization to be registered and to secure the right to become a legal entity. If they want to do without registration, they are free to do so. But if they intend to construct buildings in which to hold services, if they need land, they must inform the state of their group's existence. But note that this is registration, not an application for permission. The law states that anybody can register his religious group and nobody can prevent him from doing so.

[Mauro] What conditions are required for registration?

[Karchev] A group of 10 people as a minimum, aged at least 18 years. For religions not known in the USSR, statutes will have to be submitted so that we can understand what kind of group it is. This will not be necessary for the others.

[Mauro] So, the state will have to register the new church: Who will guarantee this to the citizen?

[Karchev] The court. Religious groups which request registration and do not obtain it have the right to turn to the courts, which will have to ascertain whether or not the state has failed in its duty by refusing legal recognition.

[Mauro] You know that while the state is preparing reforms with one hand, the other often misuses its old powers, denying permission to the faithful to organize into parishes?

[Karchev] I know that it happens. Look, Gorbachev's meeting with Patriarch Pimen and the heads of the orthodox church was like a signal and an encouragement: In a few months 1,400 new religious organizations were formed. But around 200 of those had to be recognized by us, by the Council for Religious Affairs, because the local authorities refused permission.

[Mauro] So, the fringes of the Soviet government are boycotting the new law before it has even come into force?

[Karchev] Let us say that even religion in the USSR is in a transitional phase. The old Stalinist law is officially still in force; and although it is not applied in many cases, in others it is applied to the letter. Furthermore, anybody who applies the new principles of restructuring without waiting for the reforms runs the risk of being accused of unlawful voluntarism. This is not an easy time. We still have a long way to go because I think we must reach a stage when the believer feels completely free in the USSR, freer under socialism than in any other system. Is it ridiculous to say this now? Listen carefully: It is only by doing this, and not by the old propaganda, that the believer will have reason to believe in socialism and will want to fight to defend it.

Georgian Bureau Discusses Media Performance

PM0603162589 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 23 Feb 89 pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "At the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Excerpt] A 21 February routine session of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau approved the initiative by Transcaucasus Military District Commander I.N. Rodionov, member of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, on moving the military unit away from the neighborhood of the Dzhvari Monastery in Mtskhetskiy Rayon. It was stressed that this is another graphic manifestation of genuine concern and respect for our republic's historical, cultural, amd natural monuments.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau discussed the question of the work of the republics' media leaders in the new conditions of expanding democracy and glasnost and restructuring of the political and economic system. A resolution draws the attention of leaders of party, Komsomol, and sectoral press organs, publishing houses, the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, and GRUZINFORM to the need to fundamentally and consistently pursue in the press and on television and radio the party's line of expanding glasnost and democratizing all spheres of social and political life and fully revealing socialism's potential.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau examined the question of gross violations of state discipline with regard to the safekeeping of socialist property at the Georgian SSR Gosagroprom's Tsinandali Winery. [passage omitted]

'Extremists' in Armenia Effectively Isolated

PM0703164589 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 24 Feb 89 p 3

[Interview with Lieutenant General Yu.K. Kuznetsov, military commandant of the Yerevan City Special District, by special correspondent A. Kyazimzade, datelined Baku-Yerevan-Baku and carried under the rubric "Meeting at Your Request": "Problems Are Being Solved Jointly"; no date of interview given; first six paragraphs are a reader's letter]

[Text] Esteemed Editorial Office!

You publish on a daily basis announcements by the military commandant of the Baku City Special District about the punishment of those who inflame interethnic dissension, and do so promptly at that.

What we would like to know is what is being done by military commandants in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and in Armenia. There are all sorts of rumors that no other measures, apart from educational ones, are applied against people fanning interethnic dissension.

You ought to be well aware that unrefuted rumors assume weighty importance....

Respectfully,
Ingilab Kyazymbekov, Baku.

As soon as I entered the reception room, I realized that I had arrived at a very busy time for the military commandant of the Yerevan City Special District. He had had to urgently discuss and resolve some immediate problem, and I was asked to wait a while with a warning that the commandant would be unable to set aside more than 30 minutes for the interview.

Never mind, maybe we would begin the interview with this immediate problem....

"No objection," Lieutenant General Yu. Kuznetsov said firmly. "In general, let me say this at the very beginning: In today's atmosphere of glasnost, we do not and cannot have any secrets from the press. In other words, total frankness."

[Kyazimzade] In this case, Yuriy Kirillovich, with whom were you in conference just now, and what did you discuss?

[Kuznetsov] I was visited by Chekists, senior officials from the republican and union MVD's. What we discussed was the discovery of inflammatory leaflets by competent authorities in the special district a couple of days ago, and we coordinated our appropriate countermeasures.

Comrades from the KGB provided a translation; the leaflet calls on the population not to obey the authorities, be they civilian or military, to join demonstrations, to organize strikes.... Briefly speaking, the already familiar package of conditions which members of the "Karabakh" Committee and other Ayrikyan-style nationalist groupings tried to present us with in the past.

[Kyazimzade] But they all were outlawed a long time ago....

[Kuznetsov] Yes, and they were isolated. They are, moreover, charged with inflaming interethnic dissension in its most diverse forms.

I want to emphasize in particular that the groups and associations, which were numerous as late as toward the end of last year, and were demanding Armenia's secession from the Soviet Union, now enjoy virtually no support among the Armenian population, including students and the intelligentsia. In other words, they exist in isolation, since their program is in principle contrary to the Armenian people's aspirations and intentions.

[Kyazimzade] In other words, it can be asserted that obvious and positive changes have occurred in the minds of most people?

[Kuznetsov] Yes, and I attribute this primarily to life itself. Life has opened many people's eyes; people have realized and, as the saying goes, assessed on merit that selfsame "Karabakh" Committee whose actions were by no means founded on a struggle for Nagorno-Karabakh's unification with Armenia. That was just for show; what was being waged in reality was a most commonplace struggle for power, generously subsidized and secretly guided by corrupt elements.

[Kyazimzade] Can it be assumed that the population is informed of all this in detail?

[Kuznetsov] From the very beginning we established close, businesslike contacts with the mass media. My deputy for political matters engaged in sharp political discussions with poetess Silva Kaputikyan and writer Zoriy Balayan on republican television. Of course, we regularly publish announcements by the military commandant's office of the Yerevan City Special District in the press. Our patrols (which, just as in Baku, are interdepartmental—made up of representatives of the Army, the MVD Internal Troops, the militia, and the people's detachments) encounter disregard of the demands of curfew regulations and breaches of public order. There are also, albeit less frequently, cases of negative mutual relations between people of different nationalities. There are also cases of confiscation of firearms and edged weapons.

Now it is hard to say anything more specific or to give names—an investigation is still in progress. All these cases are in the hands of an investigating group from the

Union Prosecutor's Office and the USSR MVD with trials evidently due to begin in the near future, and they will certainly be reported in the press.

Questions associated with this problem have been increasingly often asked by recent visitors whom I receive every week, in my capacity as both military commandant of the special district and chief of the Yerevan garrison.

[Kyazimzade] What else do people want to know?

[Kuznetsov] They mainly come to us with requests for help in exchanging apartments and transporting domestic goods and heavy articles. It often happens that bureaucrats create obstacles for people even in trivial matters like receiving their final payments and labor records [when leaving their jobs], and we of course have to intervene.... We set no time limit for visitors; we are always ready to hear out all who register and present themselves for an interview.

[Kyazimzade] Obviously, work with migrants also takes up a lot of your time?

[Kuznetsov] Yes.... But I must tell you that the acuteness of this highly painful question has been declining recently.

Literally a few minutes before you came in I was given an interesting document about migrants. You can see: Several thousand of them have returned to their native places.

Here are the latest figures, as of 13 February. Over 23,000 families which moved here from Azerbaijan have left Armenia. Furthermore, most of them have returned to their former places of residence, and only a few have moved to other cities and oblasts.

On the other hand, 835 families comprising 3,488 persons have returned from Azerbaijan to Armenia. We guarantee each one of them total personal safety and an opportunity to pick up their affairs and their jobs without any discrimination whatsoever.

A lot of purposeful work—both propaganda and organizational—is being done along this avenue on a daily basis by the military administrations on Armenia's and Azerbaijan's territories and by the party, soviet, and trade union organizations in both republics. We are right in perceiving every instance, even isolated, of people returning to their native places and their homes as yet another joint victory for us.

This is because every such instance testifies that the reverse process has not only begun but is gradually stabilizing. Through the example of their neighbors, friends, or relatives, people are convinced that the situation is getting back to normal and that their social protection is guaranteed.

It is quite important in this context for the people to know what measures have been taken against the extremists who provoked abnormal interethnic relations. Let me repeat that many of them have been detained, arrested, and appropriately punished for their illegal and inhuman actions.

An analysis shows that these actions by the authorities are properly perceived and, in their own way, encourage the return of former migrants to labor activeness.

It is also certain that the earthquake left its own imprint on people' behavior.... The common disaster cooled passions down. And this is understandable: Sorrow always makes people take a fresh look at themselves, at their deeds and intentions.

[Kyazimzade] How does the military administration of the Yerevan City Special District collaborate with the civilian authorities?

[Kuznetsov] I would say that we maintain the closest possible contacts in absolutely all aspects. We do not make a single decision without each other.

For example, in early 1989—when all theaters and movie theaters switched to self-financing and cost recoupment—we were faced with the problem of the curfew actually hindering work under the new conditions of economic management.

And what about people? They have children, they have to work in order to earn a wage and feed their families....

We consulted the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and soviet organs, invited movie theater and theater directors to a frank and extensive conversation. Ultimately, we unanimously concluded that, by making leaders of entertainment enterprises personally responsible for the maintenance of order, we could allow movie shows, concerts, and theater shows to go on until 2100 hours.

And let me tell you that, for 1 and ½ months now, there has not been a single breach of public order in this sphere!...

[Kyazimzade] Do visiting artists also perform on the stage in Yerevan?

[Kuznetsov] Not only our own Soviet ones, but also visitors from abroad.

In anticipation of your likely question, I would like to mention that we have suspended visits by foreign tourists to Armenia for the duration of the special situation. There is also a prohibition on entry by citizens of foreign states traveling to visit relatives by invitation, and so on.

I would like to express my wish for the earliest possible stabilization of the situation in the region and the restoration and consolidation of good brotherly mutual relations between the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples.

After all, for centuries on end they have been living shoulder to shoulder and friend to friend, as the great poet Samed Vurgun put it. How can this possibly be forgotten, how can the most sacred feelings be abandoned to insults by all sorts of extremists?!

My father, a cadre military man, served in the Transcaucasus even before the war and left for the front from here; I myself have spent almost 15 years here and, believe me, I am sufficiently familiar with this beautiful part of the world and its overwhelmingly remarkable people—Azerbaijanis, Georgians, and Armenians, who are honest and selfless toilers, loyal in friendship and dedicated in brotherhood. This is why I am certain and convinced in my heart that the conflict through which we are, alas, now living is only temporary and will ultimately disappear without a trace.

Of course, in order to bring this hour closer, we must all work and labor, each one at his job, indefatigably and without counting the minutes.

Official Describes Rebuilding at Yerevan Meeting
LD0303125889 Moscow TASS in English 1238 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Yerevan March 3 TASS—The assistance which has been given to Soviet Armenia by the fraternal Soviet republics and foreign countries has helped us to hold out in the face of the terrible natural calamity, Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the armenian Communist party Central Committee, said in a speech with representatives of the republic's intelligentsia in Yerevan.

The services of military and transport aviation were engaged from the very first days immediately following the earthquake. About nine thousand cranes, bulldozers, motor vehicles and medical equipment has been delivered. All efforts were directed towards rescue operations. About 40,000 people were pulled out from under the rubble, 15,000 of them alive.

Rehabilitation and building work is now in progress. It has been estimated that at least about six million square metre of housing is to be built in quake-stricken towns and villages. The natural calamity rendered about 520,000 people homeless, and 170,000 people are now out of job.

Arutyunyan emphasised that the earthquake-ravaged towns and villages are being rebuilt by the whole of the Soviet Union. Construction trains and equipment arrive in Armenia from other Soviet republics. The country's best specialists—scientists and town planners—have come. Together with Armenian colleagues they are tackling matters pertaining to the lay-out of towns and villages. The entire building and architectural strategy is being virtually reconsidered.

Interior Ministry News Conference on Rising Crime
LD0603175889 Moscow Tass in English 1637 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 6 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikita Demidov:

More than 930,000 lawbreakers were subjected to punishment other than imprisonment in the Soviet Union in 1988 as the country is humanising its penal practices, journalists learned at a news conference in the Soviet Interior Ministry on Monday.

The softening of punishment for many offences failed to bring about desired results, however, speakers at the news conference pointed out.

On the contrary, according to Soviet Deputy Interior Minister Nikolay Demidov, there emerged another trend: the hesitation to apply the force of the law resulted in the weakening of the struggle against crime.

Practically all types of crime went up in the past two months. 306,343 offences were committed in that period, or 74,812 more than during the corresponding period last year.

70 per cent of murders were committed by people under the influence of alcohol. In the opinion of law-enforcement officers, drunkenness remains the chief cause of household crimes.

Juvenile delinquency is growing around the country, newsmen were told.

One out of seven criminals neither worked nor studied at the time of breaking the law. Clauses in the criminal code directed against parasitism virtually ceased to work, it was noted at news conference.

*** Western Hostility to USSR Justified by Stalinism**
WA18070537 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 9, 1 Mar 89 p 14

[Article by Nikolay Popov, doctor of historical sciences: "We Are All in the Same Boat"]

[Text] In all of our discussions on a foreign political theme we have proceeded from the notion—a kind of constant in the U.S.-Soviet equation—of the "consistent peace-loving Soviet foreign policy." "Their presidents and parties in power change and along with them their policies, but we have collective leadership, consistently carrying out...." The world is black and white, bipolar: the "camp of socialism and peace" and the "camp of capitalism and war." The West has repeated the same

stereotypes, investing them with different meaning. The situation is clear, although alarming, and at times, as during the Caribbean crisis, it leads us to the brink of nuclear disaster. Correspondingly, the military doctrine also assumed our complete victory in any conflict, in any encounter with the enemy camp: And if the aggressor were a nuclear power, it would suffer a crushing attack from our armed forces.

The seventies brought a certain softening of the rhetoric. The term "sober thinking" appeared in regard to our enemies: These are the capitalists who, seeing the inevitability of their "decay" and departure from the world arena, do not intend to subject mankind to war and are ready to quietly wait out their time.

But the truth, it seems, has gradually made its way into the awareness of both camps: In modern war there will be no winners, it will be mutually destructive; and, consequently, confrontation must be lessened and diluted by various kinds of cooperation. Perhaps it is also necessary in and of itself—each can also live without help from the other side—but it would be desirable if only for the sake of getting used to one another and to reduce the mistrust. It goes without saying that in general we are still enemies, and were it not for the threat of the nuclear apocalypse we would not experience any special pleasure from communication and would try to do as much harm to one another as we could.

In this respect our relations remind one of the intelligent spiders in the bank who cooperate out of necessity in order to get out of there, or the representatives of the Montekki and Capuletti clans who ended up on an uninhabited island and built a boat together so they could escape and continue their hostilities under more convenient circumstances. Peaceful coexistence in the traditional interpretation meant the competition of two firms trying to force each other out of the market but at the same time trading with one another. In both cases the initial hostility is assumed; incompatibility, just as tissues from different organisms are incompatible, like matter and antimatter. What is the main reason or reasons for our conflict with America, which has sucked the last juices from us and led the whole world to the verge of destruction and at the same time has become a necessary evil for many generations of people both in the Soviet Union and the United States? Energetic attempts are now being made to reduce the danger of a nuclear standoff and normalize relations, both political and economic and cultural. The first successes have been achieved in disarmament, and the danger seems to be decreasing. But the profound mistrust of us remains and, correspondingly, along with the rapproachement there continue to be arms, particularly SDI; the danger of war is decreasing slowly, and billions are being cast to the winds. For example, an influential conservative observer, G. Will, writes that Gorbachev's policy is an attempt to "camouflage a tank with sugar coating" and that his policy is based on a "belief in the inevitability of a final conflict between the socialist and capitalist camps." What is the reason for this conflict, and what do we share and what can we never share in this world?

Any school child will tell you that the reason for the discord between our socioeconomic and politicl systems is that capitalism and socialism are irreconcileable enemies—our progressive system must replace the capitalist system, which has outlived its time. And peaceful coexistence is a peaceful form of competition, of struggle between them, so that the "elimination" will take place without wars.

In general we have tried to divide the world into zones of influence: the capitalist zone according to the American model and the socialist according to ours. What have we achieved? The capitalist world, in spite of all American efforts after World War II and the billions of dollars that have been spent, is departing more and more from the "American" model. The ungrateful Japanese, whom for a fairly long time the Americans called "cheap imitators," not only have begun not to copy the American model, but also have surpassed their teachers in many ways, including labor productivity and such branches as electronics and automotive construction.

We "sell" abroad a model, an item which we ourselves have not completely tested, have not brought, as it were, to the point of industrial production: This is still the experimental model of socialism. We, who have persuaded Asia and Africa to follow our example, are ourselves actually beginning a new experiment. We have already gotten a long way away from Saint-Simon, Fourier, Marx, and Engels. What we have are the dreams of the great utopians and Marxists, the fourth dream of Vera Pavlovna, and other models from artistic literature. The closest thing we have had to the real plans was the NEP, Lenin's cooperative socialism which its author did not manage to realize, although there was plenty of promise of world revolution and the victory of communism on a world scale. This was also burned into the memories of the rest of the people.

We are practically beginning all over again. We should construct socialism at home without a lot of noise and fanfare and achieve slow and modest but real successes. We should not construct endless intourist Potemkin villages to show to the foreigners, but construct roads and pipelines; we should not put on a grandiose show, which leads the country to the brink of crisis, but raise the standard of living of the people just a little bit. We are called a "superpower," but in many respects we are a poor and developing superpower. All the statistics in the service of the cost economy and the self-reproducing political elite and its propaganda apparatus were directed at the production of advantageous figures that show "further successes" and the "flourishing of the socialist economy"—ore, iron, fertilizers, combines; behind them were concealed relatively "insignificant"

indicators—the real provision of the people with housing, food, clothing, and conveniences—and the "discrediting" data completely evaporated—the infant mortality rate, which is among the highest in developed countries, pollution of the environment, and social problems such as drug addiction and prostitution. Moreover, as the song goes, "we are making missiles and damming up the Yenisey."

We must see our country through the eyes of the rest of the world, both a half century ago and now, in order to understand the sources of the policies of the Western states with respect to us. In general it is difficult to look at oneself from the outside, and it is frequently painful, but if we have mustered to resolve to "figure out the society in which we live," as M. S. Gorbachev said at the Februrary (1988) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, "having suffered and having allowed to pass through our consciousness and spirit the experience and lessons of the past," in exactly the same way we must straighten out our foreign political past and the roots of our problems with the rest of the world.

For prerevolutionary Europe and the United States our country was not only and not so much the country of the DneproGES, 5-year plans, the elimination of illiteracy, and the Stakhanovite movement, Gorkiy, Eisenstein, and the Chelyuskin crew; it was primarily a country of bloody forced collectivization, mass persecutions and camps, a country of terror and dictatorship, the country of Stalin. In the eyes of many Europeans and Americans "Stalin's Russia" stood right alongside "Hitler's Germany," and for some the reputation of the Soviet Union was even lower since Stalinism as a state policy began before fascism did. It is naive or hypocritical to be surprised or indignant about the intractability of England and France in their relations with us during the thirties—the reason for this was not only the inconsistency, the cowardice, and the short-sightedness of the leaders of of these countries who participated in the collusion treaty in Munich but also the people of these countries had placed us on the same level with fascist Germany and had to make a choice between the two evils. How, for example, could the military figures of England and France hope that the Stalinist government would be true to its word and what could their military delegations expect from the leader of the Soviet delegation, K. Ye. Voroshilov, who along with Stalin and his stooges destroyed the best of the Soviet Army?

There were at least two foreign policies: that of Lenin, Chicherin, Litainov, and other politicians of the Leninist school, and the foreign policy that replaced it—that of Stalin, Molotov, and Vyshinskiy. It is no wonder that Molotov—"Mr. No," as he was called in the West—was quickest to find a common language with (Ribbentrop) and not with the "Western democrats" and yet at the critical moment in 1941 when it was necessary to form an alliance with America, Stalin brought M.M. Litvinov out of disgrace and sent him to arrange relations in the United States.

When speaking of the "cold war" with the West, historians frequently note that among our allies the talks concerning opposing the Soviet Union right up to the point of joining with Nazi Germany were taking place already in 1943. Actually, our confrontatin with the West took place in the twenties and thirties. In the eyes of the world community two unprecedented colossuses had been formed: Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Soviet Union. The differences in the ideological slogans—the supremacy of the German race and the inevitability of its expansion on one hand, and the reign of brotherhood and justice under socialism on the other—did not do much to mask the political practice—a military dictatorship, bloody terror, and a regime of the personality cult.

Much of our tragic past is becoming known only now, but the main landmarks of Stalinism have been known to the world community for a long time: forced collectivization with millions of victims and the subsequent famine. The Shakhti affair of 1928, the Industrial Party proceedings in 1930, the elimination of the Trotskyites, the right- and left-wing deviations, the outburst of repressive measures in 1936-1938, the elimination of the Red Army leadership, and so forth. In our history books and articles we frequently read that the political leaders of the West, "blinded by anticommunism," "proceeding from narrow class interests of the bourgeoisie," rejected the hand extended by the Soviet Union and did not enter into an alliance against fascism. But every time we recall and analyze the reaction of the West to the Soviet foreign policy we must try to look at our country of that time from the outside and understand that this was an attitude primarily toward the Stalinist foreign policy, the Stalinist Soviet Union, and Stalinist communism. Sometimes people say that many political figures in the West took advantage of the repressive measures in the USSR as another reason for their initial class anticommunism and anti-Sovietism. This is probably true. But this does not change very much: Stalinism reinforced the anticommunism of some of them, created anticommunism for the first time for others, and repulsed still others who had sympathised with socialism and our country.

In the West it is generally thought that the Soviet-German agreement of 23 August 1939 led to World War II, and the "agreement on friendship and boundaries" of 28 September caused a state of shock among antifascists in Western countries. Hitler had various versions of where to go first: to the West or to the East; only one thing was ruled out—war on two fronts. When speaking of Munich the majority of historians think that when it refused to defend Czechoslovakia and was taken in by Hitler's bluff, the West missed a real opportunity to prevent World War II. At the same time one should keep in mind that the concept of "appeasement" of the potential aggressor enjoyed the support of broad segments of the population of England, France, and other European countries who remembered well the horrors of World War I and thought they should do everything to avoid getting into another war, which would be fatal for Europe. These attitudes contributed to the situation

where the Western countries did not help republican Spain in its fight against the Franco revolt, which was supported by Hitler and Mussolini, and did not stop fascist Italy's aggression against Abyssinia. And when Chamberlain returned to London from Munich, the majority of Englishmen greeted him as a peace maker. F. Roosevelt sent him a rush telegram: "Good chap."

What with the attitudes of the "appeasers," politicians and the broad masses in the West were ready to believe Hitler's assurances that Sudetenland was the last territory to be claimed by Germany and that it wanted only to unite the lands populated by Germans.

The psychology of "appeasement" came to an end with the occupation of all Czechoslovakia in 1939. It became clear to the majority of Europeans that the Munich game had failed, that war could not be avoided, and that the only solution was to repulse the aggressor. But even after the fascist forces attacked Prague the prospect of an alliance with the Soviet Union did not attract the "Western democracies." Consequently, they were even cool in conducting the negotiations concerning the creation of an anti-Hitler military alliance with the USSR. America looked at all this from the sidelines since isolationist moods and the deep crisis kept both politicians and the broad public from understanding how real the threat of fascism was for the United States as well.

Hitler was bluffing during all these years. When beginning his next military adventure he did not have decisive superiority; his own generals were ready to rise up against him. Hitler could have been stopped even with a partial joining of the forces of his opponents. But this did not happen.

There is no doubt that the bolshevist revolution in Russia and its first transformations evoked a hostile attitude toward it from the West and attempts to "nip socialism in the bud." What had happened here threw the gauntlet to the entire established system of capitalism and its norms and values. But to no small degree the anti-Sovietism of the West was based on ideas about the Soviet political system as a repressive dictatorship that was hostile to democracy, a "left-wing despotism" that had replaced the "right-wing despotism" of tsarism. Since the end of the twenties ideas about the Stalinist regime have become central in the image of our country abroad.

Under these conditions only the attack by fascist Germany on the USSR changed the attitude toward us. In the eyes of the world community we changed from an aggressive, dangerous country into a victim of agression, the main burden of which lay on the Soviet people. The attitude toward us during the war and after it continued to be ambiguous, and one can feel this to this very day. On one hand there is sympathy for our people, compassion, and support for their struggle against Nazi aggression. On the other—as before—hostility and suspicion for the Stalinist regime and its heirs. The excitement about the victories of the Red Army carried over to Stalin as its formal leader, including from Churchill and Roosevelt. Many leaders of the West understood that victory over Hitlerism would not change the essence of the political system created by Stalin. Looking back, many of us recall with bitterness and indignation that the leaders of the United States and Britain were in no hurry to support us at the beginning of the war, wanting to see first who would get the upper hand and then to help the weaker side, and that they began to create the atom bomb, keeping it a secret from their blood-covered allies. Perhaps what they new about Stalin cannot be discounted when evaluating their actions? It was impossible to predict his behavior within the country, and you could expect anything in his foreign policy as well. But through all the unpredictable steps one can trace a general pattern—egoism, cruelty, and suppression of any hint of different thinking.

In this connection, the "cold war," which began in 1946—many link it to Churchill's Fulton speech in which he spoke of the "iron curtain" that separated the USSR from the rest of the world—was another round of confrontations between capitalism and socialism and a continuation of the opposition to Stalinism of the thirties. It came very close to being a "hot" war between the two opposing blocks, as, for example, during the Berlin crisis of 1948-1949, the Korean War of 1950-1953, and, later, during the Cuban crisis.

We now say that our foreign policy was inadequate and we reacted too sharply to provocations from the West. Obviously, the same thing can be said about the actions of the West, and above all the United States, with respect to the foreign political actions of Stalin, Malenkov, Khrushchev, and Brezhnev. But an important reason for the fear, suspicion, and hostility in Western policy and psychology regarding us was the revulsion for Stalinism and its equation with communism as an ideology and political practice.

Therefore our main task today, in addition to an honest analysis of our past and an elimination of the remanants of Stalinism in our domestic policy and psychology, is to divorce Stalinism from communism in the eyes of the world.

At the cost of incredible effort we created an atomic bomb and then a hydrogen bomb and an arsenal of missiles, and by the end of the sixties we reached parity with the United States and the West. But we did not manage to protect ourselves from danger with a fence of missiles, and the danger of war increased. It is possible to avert it, as our present government constantly emphasizes, only through political and not military means. In this sense glasnost is our parity, restructuring is our weapon, and destalinization is our main ammunition.

It is difficult to separate oneself from Stalinism even within the country. It is even more difficult before the world audience, for which much that takes place in our

country is as much of an enigma as it was before, attractive but not very comprehensible, or else even a "propaganda trick." This is the more difficult since we have created an entire art of confrontation, a constant battle with the "world bourgeoisie" and their rotten influence. It has its own establishment, its own bureaucracy, its own science, and its own language, and—the main thing—its own client, since the foreign enemy was necessary in order to justify the domestic problems, the shortage of resources, machines, food, and housing, the general the slovenliness and poverty, and—the main thing—the strong authority and lack of openness for the people under the conditions of a "hostile environment."

The renunciation of Stalinism is a long and painful process, since a tumor has appeared in the healthy tissue of the society. It will not be easy to cut it out. In order to dissociate ourselves from Stalinism, from the crimes it committed against mankind, we shall need a court trial of Stalinism as a criminal political system and organization as well as a trial of it main leaders. It is impossible to impose sentences on the dead, and this is not a question of punishment—it is a matter of nationwide condemnation of the criminal political practice based on verified facts, a moral sentence passed against Stalinism. If we want to break the ice of disbelief we must provide an example of self-purification, of deep criticism of our own vices of the past, including the quite recent past.

Now when it comes to America, confidence in us is growing slowly. According to data of last year's public opinion polls, only 2 percent of the Americans feel "great" confidence in us, 33 percent—"some" confidence, 24 percent—"little" confidence, and 37 percent—no confidence at all. And although confidence has increased in recent years, one must not think that everything changed with the beginning of restructuring. The Americans are looking at us with a great deal of interest, sympathy is growing, and they rate M. S. Gorbachev very highly. But the mistrust is still great. We are still the main military threat to the United States according to the ideas of Americans, and 60 percent of them rate this threat as "extremely serious" and "serious," and only 37 percent rate it as "weak" or see no threat in us at all. Even more concretely: 56 percent think that the Soviet Union would attack the United States if the United States were militarily weak (37 percent doubted this).

For many in the United States glasnost and restructuring mean mainly allowing the emigration of Jews, the return of Academician A. D. Sakharov from exile, and the decision to withdraw our troops from Afghanistan. We are not drawing our own portrait for the rest of the world, but a good deal depends on the expression on our face. Foreign policy has never been the prerogative of diplomats alone. In the final analysis we have dealt not with ambassadors but with the country. It is no wonder that our people and the residents of other countries have been unable to understand how something so incomprehensible and uncivilized could come from the "country of Schiller and Goethe."

We are offering the world more and more peace initiatives, we want to rid the planet of nuclear weapons altogether, we are prepared for unilateral steps, and we are striving to radically change foreign political thinking in the world. But with the prejudices that have developed over the decades we do not have complete faith, proposals are accepted with difficulty and only partially, and as usual we are pursued by the reputation of being Danaideans. A unique situation has now developed in which people are ready to believe us if we go all the way in the restructuring of our country and our thinking, having rid ourselves of the burden of the past, having clarified the human value of our goals, regardless of what we may now call our society, just so that not only will President Reagan no longer call us the "evil empire" but also future leaders can say with a straight face upon meeting that "our societies are based on common human values."

* Editor Urges Independence for Scholarly Journals

WA18200230 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 1 Mar 89 p 4

[Article by Edtior in Chief of SVETOTEKHNIKA Yu. Ayzenberg, Endorsed by Editorial Board: "What Kind of Journal Should it Be?"]

[Text] "Save the journals" was the appeal of I. Yaskevich, deputy editor in chief of LITEYNOYE PROIZVODSTVO to the readers of SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA (25 Dec 89). Due to the country's paper shortage, many science and technology journals are threatened with closing. Who will survive, who will disappear? Who will decide their fate: the government, departments or the individuals concerned, the consumers and suppliers of science and technology information? Editor in chief of SVETOTEKHNIKA, doctor of technical sciences Yu. Ayzenberg looked at this problem from a somewhat unexpected angle.

No one would dispute the fact that journals are an enormous power. Yet their colossal intellectual potential is underestimated and is being improperly used. And this, within a context of other reasons, retards the pace of progress of science and technology. But what exactly is bad? What is a hindrance?

First and foremost: their status without rights. Today, journals have neither a legal entity nor economic independence. Personnel strength is determined from on high. Allocation and formation of resources for compensating labor, also from on high. Selection of printing facilities is also predetermined. Travel funds for our workers, honoraria for authors and reviewers, prices for the publication—all of this is out of our hands. Elementary things—a change in the volume of the publication depending on the journal's orders, its successes and failures, losses and profits—even this minimal economic policy is not within our powers.

Thus it turns out that in the heat of economic and political reforms we live by rules established at the very height of the reign of the administrative-command system: 1979. That is, we live with our hands tied. The State Publishing Committee, rather than the legislation of the era of restructuring and glasnost, dictate the journal's status, and how we live. The publisher determines not only the thematic trends of our journal, but confirms the editor in chief, his deputy, the responsible secretary and the members of the editorial board. The publisher hears our accounts and evaluates us. The publisher decides whom to encourage among the workers, and for what work.

Therefore, do you, reader, know of a branch journal critical of its branch? No, you will not find one. There are no branch journals which would not cover up the production deficiencies of "its" department, or which would show the truth, that is, the none-too-pretty state of affairs in "its" branch of science.

What will a journal be like? Are they all such department-pleasers?

No, they should be free and independent, legally and economically. Then there will be criticism, pointed articles, editorials with the editor's personal views on the state of affairs. The the journal will become a tribune for the broad technological public. And it will be needed by a much broader circle of readers.

The flip side of freedom is equality. Today, the State Publishing Committee, not the reader, determines the journalistic elite and pariahs. Circulation, profitability, and effectiveness are empty sounds. Earn the right to a higher rank, that is real success! Material stimulation of the journalists' labor is completely cut off from the economic effectiveness of their activities. And this means, from their personal efforts.

The reader noted, that we are not proposing the impossible. We demand only the rights of a socialist state enterprise. No subsidies, no sponsorship is necessary, nor any financial assistance from departments and the public. In addition, I am categorically opposed to this. We should have the right to regulate our price (in particular, to differentiate: one for organizations, another for students and pensioners), and to determine our own volume and frequency, to have the chance to be flexible with authors' honoraria, the price of foreign and domestic advertising, to introduce rules, that for a number of publications, nothing is paid, and for others, the authors pay. If we had all of this, the editors and editorial board could make their publications highly profitable. Well, we could not—we would be ruined! The unnecessary publications would then die a natural death, without the Council of Ministers.

Problems Facing Foreign Workers in USSR Analyzed

* Language Difficulties Detailed

WA18280070 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 14 Feb 89 p 3

[First part of four-part article by V. Cherkasov: "Foreign Workers in the USSR"]

[Text] Blagoveshchensk—*We have become accustomed to reading about foreign workers abroad in the newspapers and seeing them on the television screens. Turks and Yugoslavs in the FRG and the Scandinavian countries, Algerians—in France, Africans—in England. But recently on the streets of our cities more and more frequently we can see foreigners who are not like the typical foreign students or tourists. They are citizens of fraternal socialist countries who under international agreements have come to work in our plants and factories. There are now more than 100,000 of them in the USSR. How are their lives and what problems arise in the relations between the foreigners and our compatriots at work and at home?*

To Russia With Hope

An engineer from the Blagoveshchensk cotton spinning factory, Natalya Nikolayevna Grankina, arrived at the Moscow Sheremetyevo Airport with a ton of cargo. She was waiting for a plane from Hanoi to meet 200 Vietnamese girls who were going to Amur to learn the spinning trade. This happened last winter, and it was simple to explain the greeter's large amount: she had brought clothing for the girls who after tropical heat would have to become accustomed to the Russian frost.

"I literally dressed them in the waiting lobby of the airport," Grankina says. "This is all ours: from shoes to coats and hats. Our country spends 250 rubles on outfitting each Vietnamese citizen. This money could be transferred to Moscow from the corresponding accounts of the Ministry of Light Industry or the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, and everything could be bought in any department store. But we haul a ton of clothing to the capital right from the banks of the Amur. Why the extra expense?" Grankina is confused.

Natalya Nikolayevna's job is assistant director for work with foreign citizens. Of course it is not easy: to begin with she has 199 girls and Grankina does not know Vietnamese any better than her wards know Russian. They communicate through the interpreter (Fung Zieu Lam). I asked (Lam) (this is what everybody calls him in Blagoveshchensk): what kind of people have come to us?

"Our girls are from the province of (Nge-Tin). The majority of them are peasants. Several of them are from the center of the province, the city of (Vin), the same one that the Americans bombed so brutally," says (Fung Zieu Lam). "Each girl has someone who died at the front in

the liberation war. They were born under bombs and grew up under fire. They are in the USSR for the first time and everything is strange to them."

In the shops of the spinning factory next to our stately adults G. Krivosheyeva, S. Moshkova, and O. Tsemenko stand their pupils—fragile, elegant creations in trousers. The training period has come to an end and now these girls are working independently.

"What goals have our visitors set for themselves?" I asked (Lam).

The interpreter called two of them over—(Le Tkhn Pan) and (Le Tkhn Tkhuan)—"ask them yourself."

"We came to acquire a profession and to earn a little money and send it home."

And regardless of whom we asked subsequently—Vietnamese girls in the sewing factory or Vietnamese men in the furniture factory in Raychikhinsk, the answer was surprisingly similar to acquire a profession, to earn money, and when the contract expired, to return home. This will happen in 3 years, and for men—5 years. Perhaps by that time Vietnam will have at least a couple of new light industry enterprises, and then their work will be invaluable in their homeland.

We did not hear any big talk about international solidarity, fraternal assistance, or international duty. The soft-hearted Russian people express these feelings in their own way.

"How were the girls accommodated? In a modern dormitory with three people in a room, and the sewing workers—two people in a room. What do they eat? The same things that we eat. In a month they have gained 5-6 kilograms."

"Did they go to the October demonstrations?"

"Of course. They went with us."

Such conversations could be heard at every corner. Yet the border city of Blagoveshchensk was closed for a long time and not only to foreigners; to this day not even a Soviet person can come here without a pass. These are the inexplicable bans from our bureaucracy. Why the artificial barriers on the path to populating this immense area? Now that there are more than a thousand foreigners living in the city, an entry pass here for a Soviet person is becoming an anachronism from the years of stagnation.

But we digress. In addition to Vietnamese, there are several hundred PRC citizens from the right bank of the Amur working in Blagoveshchensk. They are completing the construction of the oblast hospital and the drama theater and are working on other construction projects. And these are not students but skilled laborers and finishers, they have a different status, and we shall discuss them in subsequent letters.

But the Vietnamese have really come to us "from the plow" and they will become aces in their professions. Their motherland is placing great hopes in its sons and daughters, correctly seeing in them the future skeleton of their working class. There are now more than 60,000 Vietnamese workers in our country. They can be seen in the mines of the Kuzbass, the metallurgical plants of the South, the textile and footwear enterprises of Ivanovo and Torzhek, on the conveyer of AvtoZIL in Moscow and AvtoVAZ in Tolyatti. They are working in Riga and Kirov...

All of their life here and their training were determined by an agreement between the governments of the USSR and the SRV. Both sides are guided by a desire to deepen fraternal relations on the basis of the Agreement for Friendship and Cooperation. The numbers of Vietnamese citizens, the regions where they are located, and their qualifications composition are determined by annual protocols. The occupational training of Vietnamese in the USSR, including language training, are conducted right in production, taking into account our established training periods, but for no more than a year.

The Vietnamese who already have an occupation study the Russian language for 3 months and then for a month they become familiar with the organization of production, labor, and the rules of equipment safety. According to the results of an examination they are assigned a qualifications category in keeping with the requirements for the given occupation in the USSR.

During the language preparation and occupational training USSR enterprises pay Vietnamese citizens wages at the level of the wage rate of a time rate workers of the first category of the corresponding occupation and branch. After the completion of the language preparation and the occupational training, each month the USSR enterprise makes a payment of 20 rubles in addition to the regular pay of the Vietnamese citizen—for working so far from home. Additionally, Vietnamese working in Blagoveshchensk are paid a regional coefficient which is in effect in the Far East.

This is according to the text of the agreement. In real life everything is both simpler and more complicated. Judge for yourself: can a girl who just yesterday was running along the dusty paths of (Nge-Tin) master the Russian language in 3 months? No, of course not. It is difficult even to master the names of the machines, parts, and production terms. The Russian mentor does not know a word of Vietnamese. How do they teach the trade?

The winding machine operator S. Moshkova at the cotton spinning factory taught thetrade to two girls—(Fan Tkhi Yen) and (Tkhi Tkhu Fyong)—by taking advantage of the experience of pilots of those times when

there were no radios in the aircraft, that is, "do as I do." The girls were sharp and hard-working, and since June they have been working independently, like all the other 200 Vietnamese girls.

"Now our Vietnamese spinners are a full-fledged work force," says the factory director, M. Popov. "The enterprise, which is operating with khozraschet, had a debt to the state of 250 tons of yarn. It no longer has it. Our expenditures on outfitting the Vietnamese girls, training, travel, and so forth amounted to about 500,000 rubles. They work off this money in a year..."

Of course it is difficult to overcome the language barrier both in training and in daily life. We have no interpreters of our own at all. It would seem that the committee for public education should also take this new phenomenon in our lives into account and open up new departments of the Vietnamese language in the VUZ's for the humanities.

The Vietnamese interpreters are also far from professional. (Fung Zneu Lam) from the cotton spinning factory remained to work in the Soviet Union for a second term and he speaks Russian tolerably. And at the sewing factory there are two interpreters—(Khyong Van Tkhien) and (Dao Kuang Pong). They are also brigade leaders. They are conscientious, but they are production workers and not interpreters. Even when talking about production we find it difficult to understand one another.

Obviously taking this into account, the Vietnamese side sent 25 experienced workers from Hanoi to the Blagoveshchensk sewing factory. They are teaching their compatriots the sewing trade using our equipment and in our shops, for so far such possibilities do not exist in Vietnam. In our opinion this form of occupational training is more productive for it eliminates the shuffling of people back and forth. But it is far from perfect.

We have placed the concerns for the Vietnamese on the shoulders of the deputy engineer for personnel and the engineer for work with emissaries from the SRV, as we have seen from the example with Grankina. Of course, here a great deal depends on Natalya Nikolayevna herself. She makes sure that nobody encroaches on the rights of her wards and that they are paid strictly in keeping with their output and quality. She herself checks the pay stubs and explains to each girl why she has earned a bonus or, conversely, why she has been fined if her work has been defective.

As we can see, the relations are benevolent. But without language, of course, it is difficult both for the SRV workers and for our mentors.

"I read in the newspapers," says Grankina, "that at the Yaroslav Engine Plant they have created primary methods for teaching the Russian language. There in the classes they have Russian mentors and by showing various details they help to master the work lexicon. Sooner or later we too shall come to this..."

"Were the hopes the Vietnamese girls brought to the USSR justified?" I asked the factory director M. Popov.

"Completely. During their year of training and work in Blagoveshchensk not one dissolved their agreement. On the contrary, many of them wanted to remain for a second term. And our administration was also satisfied: all the Vietnamese girls are fulfilling their daily assignments by 120-130 percent and they are very disciplined and precise. I think that this form of cooperation suits both sides. The Vietnamese will receive skilled personnel for their future enterprises and we are providing ourselves with labor resources.

* Joint Timber Complexes Constructed

WA18280070a Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 15 Feb 89 p 5

[Second part of four-part article by V. Cherkasov: "Foreign Workers in the USSR"]

[Text] Blagoveshchensk—*"Do not wash your dirty linen in public" is a saying as old as the world. Its backward message is obvious to everyone. But what do you do if the guest is already in the house and can see for himself that the hosts are not able to wash their dirty linen because they are careless, sluggish or just sick for a long time? If the "guest" is not a loafer but a businesslike and astute person he may both help the hosts and make a profit for himself. This is what I thought over there, in the Khabarovsk taiga, on the taiga river of Sukpay. A lumber combine unusual for the Far East is being built there. It is unusual because sawed lumber which fetches handsome prices will be exported from here rather than worthless rough logs.*

At the outset, in 1987, this complex was a thorn in the side of all Khabarovsk organizations concerned with it. This is no wonder if we say even briefly what kind of a gigantic enterprise this one is.

Tentative capacity of the timber complex is 1.75 million m^3 of timber forwarded from the upstream warehouse. Even this impressive statistic does not fully reveal the meaning of the word "complex." The timber complex consists not only of the logging lot in the taiga and processing of full-length logs into timber in the round, but also a sawmill with a capacity of 410,000 cubic meters a year, wood chip and wood particle board plants. In a word, this is going to be a major up-to-date logging enterprise supplying finished products which are more profitable to both export and use domestically than timber. It is expected that 480 million rubles will be invested in building the combine. The main point is that this will put an end to barbaric cutting over of the taiga.

"The city." This is how the settlement is referred to here which was supposed to be supplied with heat from a new boiler plant (as it turned out, it is still nowhere close to being commissioned). In this "city," 7,500 construction and enterprise workers will live. It was expected to invest 2.52 million rubles at Sukpay before the end of last year. Nine residential buildings, a dormitory, a club, a bakery, a bath and laundry shop are envisaged... Actually, only 57,000 rubles was invested, as the general director of the lumber combine S. Plotnikov says.

A continuous shortage of personnel is the main reason for this.

The way out was found in creating a joint Soviet-Cuban enterprise.

April 1987 greeted the representatives of the island of freedom with thick snow. However, this did not disturb them. The hospitality and warmth of people compensated for the weather which they were not accustomed to. They even managed to build a new terminal in the "city" by the time the first train with the Cubans arrived.

The Sukpay Lumber Complex is the first joint enterprise in the Far East. "This economic contract is of historic importance"—this is the evaluation given to it by the general director of "Kubales" Association J. Gonzalez.

There are several similar logging enterprises or entire lumber complexes in our country. Everybody knows about joint Soviet-Bulgarian enterprises in Komi ASSR and Soviet-Korean enterprises in Amur Oblast. For many years now, Bulgarians have been working on building mining and enrichment combines in Kursk and Belgorod Oblasts. We have met construction workers from the GDR and Poland where the Urengoy-Western Europe high-capacity pipelines were laid. Several contracts for setting up joint Soviet-Chinese enterprises have been signed within the framework of crossborder contacts. A large contingent of construction workers from the PRC is building homes in Zabaykalsk. Skillful vegetable gardeners from China and Korea work at the state farms of the Amur area. Workers from the neighboring province of Heilongjiang have signed a contract with the Glavamurstroy and are "bringing to speed" long-delayed projects in Blagoveshchensk—the oblast hospital and the drama theater.

Undoubtedly, this helps all countries of the socialist commonwealth to solve their domestic economic problems. However, even a layman can see that this is only the first, the lowest stage of our integration when only two goods enter the market—on the one hand, raw materials or work on labor-intensive projects, and on the other—human resources. In practice, this means that we have, say, timber but no people to harvest it. You have spare labor resources but no raw materials. Let us sign a contract which reconciles the interests of the two parties. Certainly, this form of commercial and technical cooperation is very far removed from modern sales or purchases of the products of labor or competitive technologies in the capitalist market. However, it is profitable for the developing countries such as the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the PRC, Cuba, Vietnam. What about us?

A schoolboy would know that it takes 100 years for a pine tree to grow. These natural resources would not be replenished even in the lifetime of two generations. In all honesty, it is more profitable to cut down the trees ourselves and sell them for hard currency. We do not count profits in relations with the socialist countries, especially when it comes to timber and other raw materials. This is fraternal international aid which is in part compensated by labor, and then only because we are not capable of attracting our people to the taiga through either high salaries or passable living conditions. This is why the Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industries has to sign new contracts every year and set up joint lumber enterprises which settle with us in our own timber.

At present, only foreign countries derive profits from cutting over forests. Does not the ministry know that, from the point of view of the national economy, it is better to export ready-made boards and cants, and use rough logs locally, utilizing wastes as well? Gross cubic meters bring about losses in hard currency which we now need so badly even for trade with the Japanese.

I am looking at a letter which came a year ago to the Amur oblast executive committee. Deputy Minister of Forestry N. Savchenko writes: "the Brusnichnyy Timber Enterprise was constructed pursuant to an instruction of the Council of Ministers and the intergovernmental agreement with the Korean People's Democratic Republic on joint logging operations in the USSR. Raw material resources for the timber enterprise were assigned in Arkharinskiy forest district. As of 1 January 1987, the remainder of operational reserves at this location amounts to 7 million m^3 with annual production of timber being 220,000 m^3. According to the reevaluation of raw material resources conducted by the 'Lesproyekt' All-Union Association, about 5 million m^3 of commercial-grade timber in mature and overmature forests is available in the yet unassigned areas of category 3 forests in this forest district, which will also cover local needs for timber in the long run..."

What is meant by "category 3 forests" which comrade Savchenko advises the citizens of Amur to cut over for "local needs?" This is the best of what still remains in the taiga—protected areas and nature preserves. In this case, it means the unique Khingan State Nature Preserve in the east of Amur Oblast. Its director A. Bochkarev, an enthusiast of his cause, is sparing no effort to save the people's treasure.

A. Bochkarev says: "The Khingan State Nature Preserve has natural ecosystems which are unique in the world—the remnants of East Asian prairies once common in the middle reaches of the Amur. They are valuable because they include 20 species of rare and endangered birds which are entered in the Red Data Books of the USSR and the International Association for the Protection of Nature..."

At present, the roar of chain saws is heard not only at the edges but in the preserve proper. Citizens of Amur Oblast ask comrade Savchenko to spare their unique forest, and his answer is: cut it down! In the process, the deputy minister refers to the intergovernmental agreement with the Korean People's Democratic Republic hinting at a virtual international scandal.

Why a scandal when careful utilization and protection of national raw material wealth which, in addition, cannot be replenished are an issue? After all, pine trees take 150 years to grow here. This is a permafrost area, and the fertile layer is only 5 cm thick.

This is where we should begin—with wood processing technology. Otherwise, we will leave nothing but a cold desert in Siberia for our posterity. However, we are offering Korean and Bulgarian comrades the same primeval wood-felling techniques which we are practicing throughout our country.

We are talking to General Director of "Tyndales" Association N. Sarnavskiy and General Director of No 2 Association of the Logging Representation in the USSR of the Korean People's Democratic Republic (So Khe Ren). This joint enterprise is prospering, it is fulfilling 106 percent of its quota for producing industrial wood. However, calculations do not imbue us with optimism. The Koreans claim 39.2 percent of the wood produced, and 61.8 percent remains for us. At present, 7,000 citizens of the Korean People's Democratic Republic work in the forest around Tynda.

I ask the directors: "Does it happen that the Korean side violates ecological [regulations] or, say, cuts down timber in areas not assigned?"

"It does happen," both of them say with a sigh of contrition.

"What do you do in such cases?"

"We impose punitive fines," says N. Sarnavskiy.

"How are the fines collected if your settlements are non-cash?"

"The Korean side settles in timber yet again," confirm both directors.

So, we cut the taiga over, and what happens next? In return, having processed timber into sawed lumber, pulp, cardboard, and wood particle board, we may reap additional hard currency proceeds. This is immediately profitable both for us and the Koreans.

(So Khe Ren) agrees: "Indeed, mature technologies of wood processing are the only way out. Together with our Soviet comrades, we are trying to get a third party involved in the endeavor—the Japanese with their no-waste technologies..."

Indeed, it is high time to do away with rough logs, and both parties understand this. Next year, they will begin to build two wood particle and wood chip board plants right in the lumber enterprises. With a view to protecting the natural environment, they intend to use the dry technology of board production which does not pollute rivers. A joint furniture factory is planned to be built in Tynda. One of the lumber enterprises is planning to build a technological line for in-depth wood processing.

The concepts are good, but the progress is slow. The apprehension is that by the time these shops are commissioned timber for them will have to be shipped from hundreds of kilometers away. We should practice cooperative contracts more resolutely, and hard-currency proceeds from [sales to] a third party should be allocated for purchasing imported equipment if that domestically produced is not available.

Certainly, we have common goals—reinforcing socialism in every fraternal country. However, as we can see, the current status of our business contacts (exchange of raw materials for labor resources) is primitive, and it obviously is not in line with the world level of business partnership.

* Foreign Workers' Life Described

WA18280070b Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 17 Feb 89 p 3

[Third part of four-part article by V. Cherkasov: "Foreign Workers in the USSR"]

[Text] Blagoveshchensk—*A gaggle of Vietnamese girls comes to the Blagoveshchensk market every Saturday and Sunday. About 20 people stand, as if at attention. They all trade in something: costume jewelry, make-up, magic markers, cheap watches. The customers are unhappy—it is expensive. Conversations about speculation creep through the city. The inquiry into this matter made it up to the level of the presidium of the recent city party conference.*

Journalists had gathered at the office of Gen G. Maryasov, chief of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Amur oblispolkom. What to think of the trading of foreign citizens at the local market? It is hard to imagine, let us say, a Soviet selling his shirt, for example, at a bazaar in Paris. But here?

The general had to release his public explanation through AMURSKAYA PRAVDA: "There have not been registered any sort of violations of Soviet laws, norms or rules of socialist living on the part of Vietnamese citizens living in Blagoveshchensk."

In our legislation, the concept of "speculation" is described as the buying up and reselling of goods or other items for the purpose of making a profit on deliberately raised prices. In this case, the items traded are manufactured goods of imported production, brought in or sent from Vietnam, and not bought in our own stores. Therefore, we cannot compare "Vietnamese" prices with those set by the state, and are not entitled to speak in terms of speculation.

In addition, the same Vietnamese do not only sell, but also purchase in our stores the things they need and everyday items. By an agreement between our two countires, every Vietnamese woman may send a reduced-tariff package home on a monthly basis. It could not be otherwise: no salary would suffice to pay the postal expenses from Blagoveshchensk to Moscow to Hanoi if they had to pay for it themselves.

Moreover, annually, also at a reduced tariff, Vietnamese workers may send a container of up to 500 kilograms to their homeland. They usually ship refrigerators, televisions, pots and pans and the like. It is understandable: they all have relatives left at home whom they must help, and nothing has yet been settled as far as money transfers are concerned.

Vietnamese women live in our country for no longer than 4 years; men, no longer than 6 years. As we see, this is not a short period. Foreigners receive the same salary and bonuses as our workers for the entire period of their study and labor. And, just like our workers, they answer for defects, violations of labor discipline, absences and tardiness.

It it much more complicated to organize the everyday life of these people; it is so unaccustomed for us. They live in dormitories along with our workers. Incidentally, Chinese workers who are finishing up the oblast hospital in Blagoveshchensk have found another way out: since the heat has been brought into the wards, they set up cots and tents and, as they say, spend days and nights at work.

In the evening, the Blagoveshchensk sewing factory resembles an enormous communal apartment, in which the residents may be singing, cursing, laundering, cooking, writing letters and eating supper, all at the same time.

...We sit in the room of translator (Vu Kvuok Tui). He lives alone, but the Vietnamese girls, almost 100 here, are two to a room. For now, they are pupils, and work only 4 hours. On returning from their shift, the gals glance here first: are there any letters? It must be said that there is a pile of letters, but they are from their friends working in Torzhok, Riga, Ivanovo and Kirov Oblast.

We ask the girls: what do they write about?

"You know, bits of girls' news," the translator answers for them, as none of the Vietnamese girls speaks Russian. Is it reasonable to expect them to assimilate such a complex language in 3 months of instruction.

"It takes 4 months for letters from our homeland to get here," (Tui) sadly informed us. "One woman's child died at home and she learned of this only several months later. Both your mail and ours work very poorly."

Tatyana Doroshok, the dormitory assistant who works with the Vietnamese girls, joins the conversation:

"The Vietnamese girls marched as one at the October demonstration in Blagoveshchensk. They held their procession under slogans about the friendship and brotherhood of the peoples of the socialist countries. These slogans are understood by them, and they feel close to them. But it's been a year since they've had evenings just to themselves. Once, the seniors of school No 11 invited them over—that's the extent of their social contact. It turns out: slogans are all well and good, but in life, everyone is on his own."

In the Amur Komsomol obkom, we speak with I. Karandayev, ideological department manager:

"It would be nice to create a sort of international friendship club in our city, to think about how to organize leisure activities, so that people wouldn't feel torn from their native hearths," I tell him.

"That's true," agrees Igor. "But we are full up with problems for now, and we've had enough informal groups."

It turned out, that the Komsomol obkom had come up with nothing useful for an entire year, nothing which would make possible the close contact of our youth with Vietnamese youth, not in never-never land, but in the same building.

Tanya Doroshok and dormitory director Raisa Mikhaylovna Lesnaya work with the Vietnamese seamstresses. The latter, as befits a hostess, grumbles:

"You go into the rooms, and not one girl has made her bed up after herself, or cleaned the floor. The gals are industrious, but there are plenty of lazy ones, too. The sink in the kitchen is dirty. Everything is self-service here, but they frequently announce, let the Russians clean up. What are we—maids?" says Raisa Mikhaylovna with exasperation. "It would hardly bring out their respect toward us if we went around cleaning up after

them. Two brigadier-communists, (Hyong Van Tkhien) and (Dao Kuang Long), were brought beautiful wooden beds, but for 2 weeks now, they can't get them into their rooms to put them together. So they've been stored in the infirmary. Certainly my senior cleaning woman shouldn't do this for them, grown men."

We see how much of the unexpected arises in our contact with foreigners when this contact is not on a poster, but in real life. Of course, the beds of these two lazy men will not become the subject of an international scandal, but we want there to be a point in inter-governmental agreements that workers live according to the laws of the country in which they are staying, and observe them strictly.

In Tynda, the director of GR [expansion unknown] Department of Internal Affairs, Col G. Filippov, writes a depostion to the party gorkom first secretary V. Fedorov: "On 6 September 1988, 3 kilometers from Set, in a forest mass was detected a temporary structure, bound with tolite and hidden from unauthorized eyes by branches. In this structure were located four metal barrels with a capacity of 200 liters, with a volume of 640 liters of home-brewed beer. The home-brewed beer was destroyed in the presence of those taken into custody. Ownership of the substance removed is established by Korean-language newspapers, and various everyday items of Korean citizens."

Last year, the DPRK citizens working at the "Tyndales" association committed 297 administrative-legal violations. What were these misdemeanors? Drunkenness, hooliganism, speculation. Pilferage is encountered, violations of the rules of berry collection and tree felling. For these illegal acts, citizens of the DPRK were fined the sum of 9,250 rubles.

"Koreans know very poorly the rules for foreign citizens living in the territory of the USSR," says chairman of the Tynda gorispolkom A. Tereshchenko. "And we are very compassionate toward foreigners. We're afraid that something won't come out right. It's not surprising that the number of rule violations is growing, especially those connected with movement from place to place, and the measures taken against violators are symbolic."

"Tyndales" production association general director N. Sarnavskiy and his comrade from the Korean side, (So Khe Ren), recall that before 1981, the Korean workers of the Tynda forest industry were primarily troops of the DPRK labor army, and those freely hired were selected more strictly. As expectations diminished on our part, to fulfill the requisition quotas of the republic's ministry of labor, workers started coming to us from provinces and districts who had not been in good standing in their naitve land—convicts, speculators and moonshiners.

The forest industry in the taiga is far from the local cities and settlements. Otherwise, there would inevitably be more rule violations. On the other hand, these same Koreans must live and work in our country for 3 years, practically without seeing it—this is also dull. This is where our Komsomol could come up with some form of social contacts, joint contacts; after all, youth forms the majority of foreign workers.

With each passing year, the number of mixed marriages grows. True, in the Far East, they are rare; for instance, DPRK citizens are forbidden to enter a marital union with foreigners. Such marriages are allowed by the Vietnamese; the majority remain in the USSR to live after marriage. Even the state tax of 1,700 rubles does not hold them. Of course, this condition does not suit the Vietnamese side: they send us their sons and daughters not for marriage, but for education. They need personnel,so this is understandable.

On the other hand, go into any compartment of the Moscow-Vorkuta train. Here, even the kids speak Russian and Bulgarian equally well. These mixed families are returning from vacations to the forest industries near Usinsk. There are many mixed marriages between our compatriots and Czechs, Poles, Hungarians and Romanians. Once, in Kremenchug, we witnessed the wedding of a Cuban, Fernando, and a Poltava native, Matrena. There was even such a Komsomol wedding in Krivoy Rog recently.

Mixed marriages are also a problem. Of course, love knows no borders and no citizenship. But then the agreed work term expires, and the young couple, more often couple with a child, goes to the husband's country. This is where things get complicated. If even in one's own homeland, not every bride gets along with her mother-in-law, so much the more so abroad.

And, here we see our Matrena running to her native consulate: I want to go home! Well, she may go home, if she has not given up her Soviet citizenship. But what will become of the children? To the father, they are not foreigners, but blood relatives. Can he say goodbye to them so easily, as it happens, sometimes forever?

I foresee mixed marriages with foreigners becoming as common a phenomenon as marriages between Soviet citizens of different nationalities, given the level of openness in our society. But here is a grim statistic: in our country, one out of every three marriages fails. And it is even worse with foreigners. So, it is necessary to think a bit, to weigh out feelings on the scale of not only personal, but international relations, both for Fernando and Matrena, before going to the marriage bureau. For soon after the marriage bureau, the path of the young couple stretches across the state border.

* Cooperation With CEMA Workers

WA18280070c Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 18 Feb 89 p 3

[Fourth and last part of article by V. Cherkasov: "Foreign Workers in the USSR"]

[Text] Blagoveshchensk—*The Krivoy Rog airport became an international airport a year ago. On the steppe, on the outskirts of the small city of Dolinskaya,*

one could hear German, Romanian, and Czech. If one adds Russian and Ukrainian to this it reminds one of the Tower of Babel.

But there is no Tower of Babel. On each side there is a settlement consisting of ten-story apartment buildings and two-story prefabricated houses, they have their own "industrial base," their own money in the bank, and much else that is their own. But they all have the same goal: to construct the GOKOR. This is the name that has been accepted in all languages for the ore-enriching combine for oxidizing ores which is being constructed in the Krivbass through the forces of the CEMA countries.

..."Tea, coffee?" politely asks the director of the Czechoslovakian part of the GOKOR construction, Miloslav Klasny, a sociable person and an experienced builder. He worked on the construction of the Prague subway for 15 years, worked temporarily on the construction of our subways, and speaks Russian superbly. Obviously, his colleagues took all these qualities into account when they elected Miloslav chairman of the council of directors of the CEMA countries that are constructing the GOKOR.

What kind of construction project is this?

Before 1985 we could not have guessed that in the 100-kilometer iron ore necklace of the Krivbass there would appear another, the sixth GOK on this steppe. Incidentally, the giant is significantly different from its five brothers here. Moreover, it embodies an age-old dream of miners throughout the world: for oxidized ores will be processed here—the kinds that have never yet been enriched in a single GOK in the country, but instead are either left in the earth or taken to the dumps. What epithets have not been applied to them during the 100 years of the development of the Krivbass! Poor, low-grade—in a word, rubbish. According to data of hte USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, the underground deposits of this kind of ore in Krivoy Rog amount to more than 2 billion tons.

Specialists have long known that these ores are not poor and not low-grade. The iron content in them is from 35 to 38 percent. It is simply that we have not been able to enrich them. Recently the Krivoy Rog Scientific Research Institute for Mechanical Processing of Ferrous Metals developed a technology for enriching oxidized ores, which in and of itself is tantamount to discovering another large Krivbass. And the GOKOR is to enrich this raw material.

The cost of the GOKOR is about 2 billion rubles. During the peak period there will be 20,000 people working at the construction site and 7,000 operations personnel.

I am citing all these figures in order to show the scope of the work and convince you that no single country, even ours, is in a position to increase them. We need the contribution of the entire CEMA community, mainly those countries that need metallurgical raw material. So far the USSR, the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Bulgaria are sharing in the work. Each has its own stake. Depending on the amount of its share, each of the participants upon completion of the construction project will receive its share of the metal pellets.

How do they intend to keep mutual accounts here?

"As soon as we erect the enriching factory, and this should happen on 1 January 1993, the USSR will begin, for example, to pay off the debt to Czechoslovakia in metallurgical raw material and pellets which our steel smelting plants need so much," says M. Klasny. "For the entire amount we have spent here... All the housing we have constructed here and the facilities for social, cultural and domestic purposes will be sold to the Soviets. Taking amortization into account, of course."

It is with Mayak, the residential settlement, that the Czechoslovakian builders began their work on the Krivoy Rog steppe. Today more than 2,000 workers and specialists live in comfortable two-story cottages here. Note that the housing is not temporary as is usually the case with us. This is something worth learning.

The Czechoslovakian specialists are working according to the watch method. They spend 3 months in Krivoy Rog and 3 weeks on leave at home. But when their first detachment arrived it turned out that the local airport could not receive foreigners—there was no customs facility... The Soviet colleagues had not even bothered to find a place for it. Trips by train through Kiev were long and costly. The Czechoslovak consul, Martin Kovach, quickly obtained permission to open a customs office in Krivoy Rog, but the question arose: who was to construct the facility? As usual, we had not included the facility in the plan, we did not have financing, there was a shortage of construction materials, and so forth.

Without any red tape or painful coordination our Czechoslovak comrades built an excellent two-story customs building in 32 days and now once a week aircraft fly out of Krivoy Rog to Prague or Brno.

And they do not try to hide their ardent interest in this construction.

"Such a facility," M. Klasny continues, "will not be found in Czechoslovakia itself for another 30-40 years. So this is an irreplaceable unique school for our specialists. But the main thing lies elsewhere: our small country is industrially developed and the need for metal is growing. Even now a significant part of the ore we need is being shipped from the Krivbass. The rest of it comes from all corners of the earth, even from Latin America. It is difficult to imagine how my country would solve these problems were it not for our friendly relations with the USSR..."

The Czechoslovak specialist did not remain silent about the fact that almost all the technological documentation for the various facilities of the GOKOR was developed by our scientific research institutes, mainly the Krivoy Rog Mekhanobrchermet. And this costs money, too. Moreover, our partners from the CEMA countries, frequently in the role of client for the design of the equipment they need in our institutes, manufacture it in their own plants according to prepared blueprints, and if they are unable to do this, they order or purchase the equipment from us. Is this advantageous for us? Undoubtedly. For blueprints and documentation cost a good deal of money. And this is an appreciable contribution to our share of the construction of the combine... I am not even mentioning that in this case we are not trading in raw material—that age-old painful item of our economy—but in technology, that is, we are entering the market of ideas armed with technical progress.

The account will not mar our friendship. In the construction of the GOKOR I see the best example so far of socialist integration in which no party sacrifices its economic interests for the sake of friendship, referring, either appropriately or not, to "international duty." But the pure financial account is perhaps not the main thing here either. In constructing the GOKOR we are learning to work with one another.

...It was a dank winter day when I arrived on the Dolinskaya Steppe. The fog was as thick as pea soup. But a convoy of trucks loaded with construction materials was going to the construction site, even though the drivers could orient themselves only from the lights of the trucks in front of them.

"This is from the Romanians!" the driver of our Volga could not contain his excitement.

Then in a conversation with the Romanian representative at the GOKOR, Konstantin Rekeru, we clarified the curious details. It turns out that Romanian construction workers had introduced the best system for the movement of automotive transportation and it was largely because of this that we had taken a large leap forward at the construction site.

"The GOKOR is being constructed in record time," says the chief of Krivbasstroy, V. Salasyuk. "Honestly speaking, we had even forgotten about such rates and had become accustomed to having construction projects take a long time. But here we agreed at the outset: let all that is the best of each of the partners become ours in common. They all have something to contribute: the Romanians—a system for movement of technical transportation, the Czechoslovaks—the provision of social, cultural, and domestic facilities, us—the assembly of objects in large blocks. The construction project has become a real school of friendship where none of the friends hides anything from the others."

Yet the main boards headed by V. Salasyuk have been repeatedly criticized during the past year or two from the pages of the Dnepropetrovsk Oblast and Ukrainian republic press. The secretariat of the Ukrainian CP CC even had a meeting regarding this. They discussed the shortcomings in the provision of social and domestic conditions, the housing shortage, and so forth.

This is all correct. The situation with housing is poor and there are not enough kindergartens. But let us still think about justice. The Czechs are constructing an enriching factory, and the Romanians—a factory for making pellets. What is left for Krivbasstroy? Unskilled and therefore low-paid work—preparing the site and various kinds of clean-up and finishing work.

As the host, Krivbasstroy should have played the role of the arbiter of fashion here. Naturally, without encroaching on the interests of the other countries. But this was impossible: its main board does not have the money or the necessary construction equipment, not to mention construction materials. And, honestly speaking, Salasyuk's people receive lower wages than the emissaries from the fraternal countries do. This is a case where it is better to be a guest.

But we are bothered even more by another circumstance. The CEMA earmarked the objects to be constructed by each of the partners, their material and financial contribution, and, consequently, the quantity of output for each of the partners upon completion of the GOKOR. But...it was all smooth on paper. Some of them began to work much later than the schedule indicated. One partner had not prepared the work front for another, there were interruptions, and, understandable, mutual dissatisfaction. A good deal of water flowed under the bridge before the coordination council and our foreign partners brought everything properly in line with everything else.

"Moreover, certain partners did less work than they were supposed to. Some were unable to participate in the construction of the GOKOR at all. Therefore, a number of facilities do not have a contractor yet. It pains me," V. Salasyuk sums up, "that we are left to 'clean up after the others.'"

...We left the GOKOR on a foggy night. In order not to get stuck in a ditch our driver got behind a heavy truck which led us from Dolinskaya to Krivoy Rog.

"Romanian," Salasyuk identified it immediately.

"Where is it going in the middle of the night?" I asked.

"They have no time off. He is probably going after construction materials..."

From the editors.

These articles, the last of which is being published today, of course, do not claim to give a detailed analysis of all the problems associated with the presence of foreign workers in our country. We will be glad if interested readers will continue the discussion.

*** Psychiatrist Comments on American Doctors' Visit**
WA18070542 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in RussianNo 9, 4-10 Mar 89 p 8

[Interview with A. Churkin, chief psychiatrist of the USSR Ministry of Health Care, by O. Izvekova; date and place not specified]

[Text] "I have heard on the 'radio voices' that a group of psychiatry specialists is coming to our country from the U.S."
[signed] M. Parfanovich, Moscow.

Our correspondent O. Izvekova has asked Chief Psychiatrist of the USSR Ministry of Health Care A. Churkin to tell us about the goals of this visit.

[Izvekova] What is peculiar about this visit?

[Churkin] This is the first official (rather than private) visit by American psychiatrists in our country. They are very much interested in our approach to treating the mentally ill.

[Izvekova] Can we say that this visit also has political goals?

[Churkin] Yes, indirectly, because in the West they talk a lot about dissenters rather than mentally ill being put in Soviet psychiatric hospitals.

[Izvekova] Recently, Radio "Liberty" broadcast a statement by the committee "In Defense of and for the Rehabilitation of the Victims of Soviet Psychiatric Terror." Are you aware of this organization? Will the Americans meet with this committee?

[Churkin] The chairman of the committee, A. Tsaregorodtsev, is well known to us. His articles in our and foreign press are marked by a scandalous tone, professional incompetence and factual mistakes into the bargain. The statute of this committee contains nothing but demagogical slogans. However, the issue of meeting with this organization will be resolved by the Americans themselves.

[Izvekova] What is the composition of the delegation?

[Churkin] Out of the 26 members of the delegation, 16 persons are psychiatrists, six are translators; also, there are sovietologists and lawyers.

[Izvekova] Which clinics will they be able to visit?

[Churkin] Whichever they wish to.

[Izvekova] Was a list of patients whom the psychiatrists would want to see submitted in advance?

[Churkin] There are 48 persons on this list. Mainly, these are individuals who attempted to leave our country illegally. They were relieved from criminal penalties for this, because in the course of the investigation they were diagnosed as having mental illnesses.

[Izvekova] What if American physicians diagnose them differently from ours?

[Churkin] They are entitled to their own opinion. However, it will not influence the treatment of the sick in any way.

Agricultural

Nikonov Interviewed on Agrarian Policy
LD0703153389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Interview with Viktor Petrovich Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, by correspondent Lyudmila Shvetsova; in the framework of the "Toward the CPSU Central Committee Plenum: Agrarian Policy Issues" program; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Shvetsova] Viktor Petrovich, in many of your speeches and conversations with agricultural workers you often repeat the view that radical improvements are taking place in the development of the agro-industrial complex. What form are these improvements taking and how should we envisage the agricultural sector now, at the present stage?

[Nikonov] Lyudmila Pavlovna, before talking about radical changes we should probably assess the actual situation at the moment and reply to the numerous articles by journalists who particularly single out the agricultural sphere and agro-industrial production. They often write....

[Shvetsova—interrupting] Not exactly flattering comments about us.

[Nikonov] ...in negative terms, and say that the agricultural sector holds an unenviable position in the system of economic reforms now under way and that it determines people's moods. As far as determining people's moods is concerned, this is indisputable. As for the fact that of all the problems connected with restructuring the people see the food problem not simply as the number one issue but as one that needs to be taken out of turn, this is also correct. We are currently preparing for a party Central Committee plenum on agrarian problems, and naturally we have delved as deeply as possible into the history of the development of agricultural production. We have tried to give an objective assessment of the development of that sector at every stage of the 70 year-long existence

and development of the Soviet state, to assess, for each stage, which factors generated the development. So what is actually happening? Why is there such talk both among our people?...

[Shvetsova—interrupting] Unfortunately, the foodstuffs are often absent.

[Nikonov] Over the past 20 years real wages have grown by 2.6 times, whereas food production has grown by only 40 percent. Think back to 1967-68, when we tried to find natural refrigerators in the north, among other places, as well as all sorts of other ways to preserve butter. Pork and beef were being produced throughout the country and we didn't know where to sell it all. But when the minimum wage was raised in 1967—it happened quickly—it was R45 then it became R70 and R85, and every R5 meant a potential increase of 25 kg in the demand for meat.

[Shvetsova] So that instead of twice a week, people started buying meat every day?

[Nikonov] If you add R5 to, let's say, to the monthly wages of people in low-paid jobs, you have to place 25 kg more meat on the shelves. But we weren't able to do this, and now, at today's level of demand, there's a gap of 10 kg between what we are providing - 65 kg - and what is needed. We should now be providing 75 kg, and then all the other things will fall into place. But if there's a shortage it creates a black market, and the black market creates the greatest evil of all—social injustice. After all, we're constantly surrounded by living people. And the roots of this truble lie in the missing 10 kg, which have to be produced. At the moment we produce 285 million so you can calculate that we need an extra 3 million. We are adding 700-800 [as heard] a year, and since the May plenum our best year was when we added 1.1 million. The main foundation is an alliance between the working class and a hard-working peasantry on agriculture. Whatever reorganizations or changes might take place in the national economic management system, if they affect the agricultural sector they must on no account tear the peasants away from the land: None of our reorganizations must create a no-mans-land. In fact, in our kolkhozes—and the same thing has happened in the sovkhozes as well—despite the slogan 'all that belongs to the kolkhoz belongs to me,' there has been nobody in charge of the land. The peasant has turned out to be an ordinary worker, paid by the day, a man who works [words indistinct]. And what's happened is that, for example, where kolkhozes have talented leaders who know how to manage people and how to be managed by people everything's going very well. I could mention hundreds of kolkhozes from memory alone. Overall, they are operating at a factor of about five or six better, from the point of view of economic rationality. I recently visited the Pioneer firm. We called on Vladimir Antonovich Plyutinskiy. We visited The 'zarya' firm, or the 'zarya' kommunizam kolkhoz in Ivanovo with some Americans, and the people there are all satisfied, materially and spiritually rich. Life there is considerably more attractive in every respect than that of any town-dwelling peasant. Or else take (Bidul) in Belorussia. Very often we think and go to see—over the last 2 years we have taken more than 5,000 delegations there—(Vasiliy Aleksandrovich Starodubtsev). We recently took all the journalists down there. The most surprising thing of all was that it was raining: It was harvesting time, and there was mud everywhere but we arrived in ordinary shoes and people were not happy to stand there and watch the corn harvesting while we boasted that once the corn, grain, and beet reach full maturity in Tula Oblast we would have—600 quintals per hectare. When we took them into the dairy commodity complex, the livestock-breeding complex, and when they saw that 1,200 cows were producing 6,000 liters of milk and that they are controlled on 25 parameters by a computer, that it takes 0.9 man-hours to produce one quintal of milk, giving a production cost of around R17, and that each milkmaid has a productivity of 1,100-1,200 tonnes of milk, many of them started saying...

[Shvetsova—interrupting] That it just can't be true?

[Nikonov] They couldn't believe their eyes. But then, once they had seen how the transplantations are done and heard about the close contacts they have with Canadian farms, about the Canadians' having judged their results to be the highest achievement in this biotechnology and presented them with their national wealth—fertilized ovicells from cows and bulls with a milk yield of 17,000 liters, they began to look at things a little differently.

[Shvetsova] We are now saying that the time for restructuring has come; it's time to repay our debts to the peasantry. We have always lagged behind with our villages, which is why providing them with amenities is now such a critical issue for the peasantry. But if they know that over the next 10 or 15 years they have to work on repaying the debts incurred earlier by someone else, then they have no prospects, and without prospects they are in no mood for working.

[Nikonov] Last year there were 6,700 farms running at a loss. This year, admittedly, there are only 2,100, since prices have been soundly rectified to help them find their feet. Nevertheless, following the May plenum—which addressed major problems—1,400 kolkhozes failed to achieve good economic indicators and still ran at a loss, even after the latest tremendous assistance measures. These farms are chronic loss-makers. So who's to blame? We are, because there are no people there; the fields are growing wild in Smolensk and Vologda Oblasts and there are probably 13 of these very difficult oblasts—Kirov, Pskov, Novgorod.

[Shvetsova] We were warned that the economic reform would not produce results immediately, yet still, everyone expected changes for the better. So why is it that the first shoots have, nevertheless, turned out to be sickly?

[Nikonov] It's because the distribution of productive forces is not being regulated and we are failing to fulfill Lenin's behest that socialism will enable the correct territorial distribution of productive forces, allow us to avoid huge cities [word indistinct] and to preserve nature, putting man, as a rational being, in charge of nature. But what's happened is quite the contrary: Over the past year 138 industrial enterprises have been built and another 3 major works are now being built. They require a town of 100,000 people, costing R4 billion. Over the past 15 years 260,000 people have migrated from the countryside and 800 hectares of agricultural land—half of it ploughed fields—have become overgrown with trees. The question is, if you take somebody to a town and force the director to pay R300 per work-place for the use of sewers, water, and asphalted roads, what about food? Although we are doing so meagerly, we are now providing the state shops each month an average of R46 of food per capita; through the state network, the public-sector shops, and public catering outlets. It is estimated that if you take a man away from the countryside who was producing food, you have to find a way of producing R2,100-2,200 worth of food for him every year—producing, processing, and delivering it to the shelves. If this problem is not solved then what happened in Smolensk is also liable to happen in Chelyabinsk and Perm—as they say, where it's virtually already been repeated—or in any other city. Because where is one to get the food from if you have taken away the people that used to produce it? Who is supposed to feed them? What we need is some totally up-to-date enterprise with industrial technologies, very high labor productivity, and economic indicators up to standard. But this doesn't figure in our plans, and this is one of the unresolved matters which is leading to a great [word indistinct] and must be corrected.

[Shvetsova] Naturally, somebody has to produce the food all the same.

[Nikonov] The agricultural sector has gone through so many reorganizations, relations have changed, and we have seen that as soon as normal conditions have evolved there is a growth immediately of 25.... During the eighth 5-Year Plan, after the central committee plenum, there was a 42 per cent increase, and then the sector again took up a worthy place in the national economic system. It produced immediate returns....

[Shvetsova—interrupting] The countryside came back to life.

[Nikonov] As soon as they started taking away too much from the countryside and cutting down their opportunities for (?normal) as well as expanded production, it took its toll on agricultural production. It's not a matter of repaying debts to the countryside: The sector has to be fitted precisely into its place in the national economic system, in accordance with its importance. And we are arguing and trying to prove to one another that those who produce food should enjoy certain benefits, either equal to or greater than those enjoyed by the consumers.

[Shvetsova] Well, probably greater, you know, because what's happening is that the peasant is suddenly, to some extent, becoming not so much someone who isn't respected, as someone who is from a different social estate. Yet our lives, our prosperity, and our ability to work may well depend on him.

[Nikonov] I think that what Dostoyevskiy said about Russia having been saved more than once by the great morality of its peasants fully reflects our reality to this day. After all, people have remained in the villages and they have quite strong ethical principles. The peasants can work for months and years without a day off, and we have to create normal living and working conditions for them. If you take any oblast or any of the 23,200 rayons you will find one or two farms in each rayon and a couple of dozen in each oblast that are now operating at the very highest level. They account for 33 percent of all farms and they are achieving yields of over 30 quintals. Incidentally, these 33 percent of farms with high production and economic indicators produce two- thirds of the country's entire agro-industrial complex's annual profit, and, well, they are producing very splendid output.

[Shvetsova] Do you think that we could improve upon this figure of 33 percent?

[Nikonov] At the moment 4 percent of farms are loss-makers. Last year it was 13 percent and this year it's 4 percent—each farm has to be dealt with individually. But we must not, at any cost, play around with the land, because it's the kind of means of production that once you've lost you can never find again.

[Shvetsova] We've lost a lot of land. The problems of improving food supplies have been building up for years and decades and it is clear that they will not be solved quickly. Time is needed, as well as new approaches to the work. What has been done so far?

[Nikonov] Although there is a great deal of negative talk about the present state of agricultural production, people nonetheless, are seeing that there is an improvement. To take the 5-Year Plan since the May plenum, it has been the only period in the whole of Soviet history when production of livestock products has grown consistently throughout the 5 years. Since the beginning of this 5-Year Plan things have changed regarding field crop cultivation as well. After all, even last year, when 51 percent of the total area sown with grain crops ended up in extreme conditions, we harvested 195 million—15 million tonnes more than in the previous 5-Year Plan. And the past 2 years have produced an extra 30 million tonnes each, compared to the 11th 5-Year Plan.

As far as livestock produce is concerned, which is where we have the greatest need and where more attention is being devoted, last year's milk yield was 2,800 kg per cow—a respectable increase of 550 kg over the 1983 figure. Since the May plenum, meat production has increased by 23 percent, milk production by 19 percent, and egg production by 24 percent. The per capita figures are respectable, too; an increase of 7 kg of meat per capita over the period, 43 kg of milk, and 24 eggs—per person that is.

Over the past few years the agricultural sector, perhaps even more than other industries, has been very persistently seeking rational management methods. We are aware that however much we might invest in agriculture, however much we might increase investment, we shall not get full returns until people are truly in charge of the land. This means seeking organizational methods that will allow people to feel that they are truly in charge and will relate their labor results not to any intermediate indicators or to the volume of work carried out, but to the final output. These very stable methods began to be introduced in 1983; we've been working on introducing a wide variety of collective contracting methods. Good and efficient production processes are being created at the local level, and there are now very many farms—4,200 kolkhozes have already fully mastered or adopted leasing relations internally. And what's happening is that small groups, the smallest of which are families...families and groups are now taking out leases of 10 or 15 years, and there are examples of people taking out leases of 30, 40 or 50 years....

[Shetsova—interrupting] Independent Soviet farmers are appearing.

[Nikonov] Well, it's not even independent farmers that are appearing, but people who are in control of the land. They are now being paid for their final products. And those 4,200 kolkhozes are already a cooperative of cooperatives, or what one might call an association of labor cooperatives operating on leasehold principles. We think that kolkhozes and sovkhozes should remain as a form, but that in order for people to feel in charge of the land and all other means of production all farms must fully adopt leasehold relations. At the moment there are another 18,000 farms introducing leasehold relations, but only in parts, be it one work team or another, a livestock farm, or else a few family leasehold collectives have been set up. But this doesn't produce any major change, because it gives rise to envy and very harmful relationships within the kolkhoz. If they do their work well, then naturally they earn more money and this produces certain contradictions. To begin with we invited leaseholders to the Central Committee and listened to them for a whole day. We then invited leaseholders to the Central Committee and listened to them for a whole day. We then invited the chairmen of their kolkhozes, and then the kolkhoz chairmen and leaseholders were invited by the rayon and oblast authorities, and, I think, as a result of all those meetings, and particularly of the detailed on-the-spot analysis of experience in Orel—in kolkhozes and sovkhozes in Orel oblast—we thrashed out our approaches and are firmly pursuing that policy. This policy does not find expression in some administrative regime for a transition to leasing; people have to be taught to think in a new way, from an economic point of view, more profoundly. Unless people are knowledgeable in economics we shall never achieve the results we are counting on. Knowledge gives rise to conviction, to the practical experience that produces results.

[Shvetsova] To begin with, people have to be taught how to count. How much time is now being spent on study in the countryside?

[Nikonov] Those who are studying at the moment are the people that will actually manage large and small leasehold collectives, the lessees. The report-back and election assemblies will soon be over in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and we shall then start teaching kolkhoz and sovkhoz managers. The preparation of a draft law on leasehold relations in the agro-industrial complex has just reached completion, and it is now at the republic and oblast stage.

[Shvetsova] You mean it's already been circulated?

[Nikonov] We think that this law should be confirmed before the Central Committee plenum.

The problem of changing economic-production relations has now come to the fore, because if we can put all our plans into effect, with our present production potential, exploited in a rational and careful manner, we should ensure growth of around 25-30 percent, though it's hard, of course, to make guesses in percentages. The thing is that we are suffering a great deal through our pursuit of output norm fulfillment, and we are suffering a great deal from the fact that small or large elements of the technologies are thrown out or operate badly...

[Shvetsova—interrupting] Or just don't work....

[Nikonov] ...and for these reasons, the complex as a whole is not producing what it should. You can see that a lot is being written and said about livestock farming and experience is being shared, especially regarding dairy farming—it's noticeable. Cows that were producing 2,000 liters of milk a year were leased out and there was an increase of 1,000 liters per cow. People are changing their attitude toward work, toward the use of all the means. This is the main task, but in our efforts to refine the economic mechanism in the agro-industrial complex we are taking into account the experience of other countries, both socialist and capitalist, which set out before us along this path, or else which have introduced something different into agricultural practice.

At the beginning of the year I visited nearly all the 56 scientific establishments in Krasnodar, together with a large group of comrades, and we drew up a program for providing scientific backup to all agro-industrial development plans in individual areas and individual circumstances. When we'd worked it out we invited rice-growers to the Rice Institute, horticulturalists to the Krymskaya station, and agro-firms to the agro-complex, and now there are a large number of agro-combines in Kuban with very high production and economic indicators. I think that, for instance, scientific-production systems like the Kurgan corn system headed by comrade Sikorskiy—I mean, more than 250 kolkhozes have now joined their system. The kolkhozes operating outside the system are producing 25 fodder units of corn per hectare, while those operating within Comrade Sikorskiy's system are producing 75 quintals of fodder units per hectare. All leaseholders and lease-type cooperatives have a very strong interest in science. If we look at the intensive labor collectives, which have now become leasehold collectives—Sikorskiy's brother, two brothers, who never perform any complex operation without consultation, particularly as regards achieving the optimal level of mineral feed, quality protection of the plants, or any other complex parameters. [sentence as heard] There are more than 1,000 such systems, but unfortunately they have not managed to avoid formalism either.

[Shvetsova] You should probably mention, of course, the agro-firms, the agro-combines that we have also seen develop very rapidly.

[Nikonov] Yes, well that's due to the basic principles: Decisions are taken not in offices, neither in the Central Committee Secretariat, nor the office of the kolkhoz chairman, but in the production zone, in the fields and livestock farms. Unfortunately, there have been many reorganizations in the agricultural management system, but until recently we found nothing that would allow us to manage agricultural production primarily through those who are directly connected with production and who carry full responsibility for it.

[Nikonov continues] There was much talk about the independence of farm managers and specialists, but as soon as the superstructure was created above them it meant that they were deprived of their independence on many issues. It was only the experienced and bold people who were not afraid of shouldering responsibility. They have long had more than 40 percent profitability and production indicators that are all above those of any Western or U.S. firm. Then we adopted a new form of management in the rayons—the former rayon agro-industrial association was transformed, on a cooperative basis, into a construction cooperative, a production cooperative—incorporating what used to be Selkhozkhimiya and Selkhoztekhnika, a domestic services cooperative, and a cooperative for the production of meat and milk, incorporating dairy factories and meat combines. These cooperatives were led by kolkhoz chairmen or specialists.

Special regulations were drawn up at that time for the Novomoskovskoye association cooperative, which had been set up with great difficulty: It is controlled by a council, which elects a chairman of the council, and this chairman is one of the best kolkhoz representatives. I was actually at the meeting of representatives during which they elected the council of the rayon association and elected Starodubtsev as the chairman. He remains a kolkhoz chairman, and all the fundamental and vital decisions are taken by the council. The council employs whatever staff it requires—a chief livestock specialist, for example, or a livestock specialist, wherever he is needed, or else if they need some other specialist they employ one. They also have a very compact finance and accounts center, staffed by qualified specialists, which is, in effect, a cooperative bank. Last year they got by without state loans, all the work was done in optimal time and on all crops they achieved increases in yield, and productivity growth. Wherever people might work—whether in a leasehold collective or as a farm manager—as soon as they feel that they are individuals, that others take account of them and consult with them, they do their jobs the way they see fit in order to produce better results. There are now 1,700 associations in the country that have been set up along the lines of the Novomoskovskoye association. All power is vested in their elected councils, and the councils are headed by kolkhoz or sovkhoz managers.

Unfortunately, these organizations are not yet fully organized, nor has the transfer to a cooperative basis been completed. But the work is going ahead; we're not going to rush things particularly, but by the end of the 5-Year Plan the entire rayon link will be working along the lines of the Novosmoskovskoye association. And then there are the suburban areas, where sometimes the food industry is developing very rapidly and comprehensively. So, approximately...cooperative associations are being formed at the rayon level, in the majority of cases, while in the environs of large towns, and indeed medium-sized towns as well, there are agro-combines equipped with a processing food industry.

[Shvetsova] One could probably mention a few near Moscow even—the Moskva Ramenskoye, Kashirskoye association and agro-combines.

[Nikonov] There are now 15 operating around Moscow, 5 in Stavropol, over 20 in Orel Oblast. And in the oblasts, too, given the experience accumulated in different parts of the country, we have now reached the conclusion that the rayon associations should decide what to have in the oblasts. To take two oblasts, Tula and Lipetsk—I think things were worked out in Lipetsk a litte later, but in greater detail, taking into account the forerunners' experience, whereas, for instance, small territories such as the Mari Republic, Khakassiya Autonomous Oblast, and the Kabardino-Balkarskaya Autonomous Republic are now, in effect, operating without the rayon link along the lines of the oblast agro-combines. There will probably be about 50-55 oblasts like this

around the country as well, in Russia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and other republics that are divided into oblasts. So this organizational method is being worked through at the moment and ought to produce results. What we're trying to do is to place both production operations and management of them on a truly scientific footing, to relate everything to the final result, and to get rid of our most fearful vice—dependence. This means achieving what was demanded by Vladimir Ilich: If, for instance, someone can produce a range of 25 products on his territory, then he should produce them and does not have the right to ask for them from the center or anyone else. The way things stand at the moment, there are oblasts that have 1 hectare of excellent land per inhabitant but produce only 50-60 percent of their food requirements and demand the rest from all- union stocks.

[Shvetsova] The first few steps have been taken. What worries you most of all?

[Nikonov] What bothers me now is that we have fallen far behind in processing. There are some problems that have (?long) been ripe for solution, but since no attention was paid to them in good time things were not solved or developed as they should have been. I'm thinking of the fact that 137 kg of fruit, vegetables, and potatoes have to be stored for the winter period per person and for that you have to have good warehouses. At present, taking into account the 1 million, almost 2 million square meters of warehouse capacity for food storage commissioned last year, we can only cope with 70 kg. Which means that we still have to build 57 kg [as heard] of warehouse capacity per person. If we are in need of another 30 million square meters and we are building 2 million a year, then it will take a long time. We have to increase the annual volume by approximately four to five times and achieve a complete solution to this problem as soon as possible.

[Shvetsova] Yes, the problem's a familiar one, but how do you ensure that we don't have to wait decades for all these (?warehouses) to appear?

[Nikonov] Lyudmila Pavlovna, I'll put it like this for you. You can put anyone in to lead this industry at any level—oblast, republic, or all-union—and you can make complaints against him every day, but until you solve the basics and create the possibilities for solving the particular problem in hand, any discussions—even those sharpest of all in tone—will remain precisely that—discussions. Even the most unpleasant criticism will remain criticism without any movement forward. Therefore you will say: So you see then that you have that kind of situation and are putting in 2 million at a time, and not 10 million at a time, to resolve it as quickly as possible.

[Shvetsova] Quickly, yes, that's what we wanted to ask.

[Nikonov] I'll say this to you: In Antratsit, Voroshlovgrad Oblast, in Lozovaya, Kharkov Oblast, in (Chuvashiya), in the (Ekvatorskiy) rayon of Tatariya, and in Tambov we have already virtually introduced capacities for 2 million square meters of cold storage with chambers designed to handle 600 tonnes per annum—and [word indistinct] this is also high-quality long-term storage—and in Yelabuga we have now introduced the production of freezer installations and from next year we shall have the possibility there to make such facilities for 2 million in the new original structures and the same in the old traditional ones. The issue here is now really on the agenda. In the final analysis one has to use the enormous industrial potential which has been created by the efforts of the whole people and first and foremost, perhaps, even, although this is utterly disliked by our comrades, by the (?labor) of the peasants—to a great extent at the peasants' expense. That potential has to be put into action in Kharkov, in the Ukraine, and in Belgorod Oblast, the Russian Federation. Vigorous work is being done by industrial enterprises, not simply in providing assistance to the countryside but in resolving cardinal issues, including issues linked with these problems. Cooperation; concern for each other's benefit, for the kolkhoz and the sovkhoz, and for the industrial enterprise; and, of course, the main thing, the people....

[Shvetsova, interrupting] If the town has an interest in being supplied with vegetables and all types of produce it can find its own resources for building itself both good storage accommodation and cold-stores in exactly the same way that many farms are now doing: The leadership and the government have met the desire of many farms to keep the produce where they are if they have somewhere to store it instead of handing it over to the general state stores.

[Nikonov] I don't know how many problems we've looked at so far, but I've already said that you've left out many issues. Look, let's say we need 40 billion standard cans—we produce 23 billion. If we're going to get these by means, say, of building major factories—for 150 and there are some for 300 then in the first place this means gathering produce over an enormous radius and once again there will be losses. But if these small enterprises producing 2 or 3 million standard cans are located on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes themselves, well we already have 5,000 such enterprises in our country, but we need to have a further 35,000 such enterprises. Then the produce really will be preserved intact. In late autumn I handed them equipment at the Lenin kolkhoz near Tashkent; within 3 months they assembled it for the production of 5 million standard cans and have built this factory. At the moment of start up there were numbers of drying units on one and the same kolkhoz. Everything is used here. This is the only way of escaping the considerable losses of produce that we are allowing to take place. You know that cherries or apricots can only be sold in the form of fresh fruit for up to a week or 10 days. So what does one do with the rest? We have now taken up the production of freezing and drying installations

with a goal to equip 780 factories and these must be produced next year in addition to the fact that we are building 1,000 of these canning factories out of production that has been created. And this problem has to be solved more quickly.

[Shvetsova] So we can solve it quickly if we have the equipment?

[Nikonov] If we set about the solution of these questions with all our strength. Now—and I am quoting the general secretary—all the defense ministries, and altogether that means 14 new industrial ministries, including the defense ministries, have been engaged in the production of equipment for the food and the processing industry. What we saw at Ramenskoye was part of a meat-combine for processing 14 tonnes of meat per day. The program is for 1,750 of them to be made. Then we are making mobile combines [words indistinct]. These are for Kazakhstan, Rostov Oblast and Stavropol. And you can see the results: In Moscow the shop is called [name indistinct] an association, a type of combine, enjoying quite a high level of popularity.

[Nikonov continues] As a nation we have very many positive features, first and foremost kindheartedness: Our people always respond to pain, not only when it is close by, but also when it is far away. At home there is always something we do by half-measures. There's always some link missing in technology or we do something in the hope that God will come to our aid. We have difficulties, for example, with land-improvement construction work. We seem to do everything; we have a normal system, and there's excessive consumption there, there's erosion here, something stops working after 2 years, the out-take or the in-take system or....

[Shvetsova] A kind of lack of thoroughness on our part.

[Nikonov] If we don't educate ourselves to be more thorough and strict where technology is concerned we will not obtain the proper return on all the outlays we make. And concerning ecology—the fact that public attention has been drawn to many problems, and for this I too should be criticized—we already make and produce mineral fertilizers in respectable quantities. The average storage period is 8 months, it works out: It's only in Central Asia and the North Caucasus that there's a 4-month accumulation, it's 8-months everywhere else. We have already invested thousands of millions in this: We should have invested thousands in parallel or in advance and we didn't do it and now, of course, a large quantity is being lost and it has to be corrected. And very often we do correct what has been done.

[Shvetsova] It's a pity that we have correct things.

[Nikonov] There you are.

[Shvetsova] The result is that....

[Nikonov] It should be done the first time.

[Shvetsova] Very many enthusiasts have now made their appearance in our country who set about doing things very enthusiastically but when they come up against some organizational disorder they throw up their hands.

[Nikonov] Remember that this is not the first time in recent years that we are approaching the problems of improving the basic economic mechanism of economic management. A resolution came out in 1986—No 358—on the further improvement of the economic mechanism. That one gave many rights to farm leaders. But there is insufficient economic literacy which would push people into resolving issues in a new and different way. Not everyone made use of these rights.

[Shvetsova] They are still incapable of using them now.

[Nikonov] Many make use of them, but many do not make use of these rights. They have been given permission, for example, to sell 30 percent of their planned output and their above-plan production at increased prices. Many have opened their shops or have reached agreements with the consumer cooperatives, but many are again going to the bank with their hands outstretched. The agro-bank now [words indistinct].

[Shvetsova] What is your attitude toward bureaucrats? We talk a great deal now about the bureaucratic apparatus. Do you believe that the number of administrators in the agro-industrial complex should be reduced or not? Is it possible for there to be any more changes in the leadership of our agriculture?

[Nikonov] Those people who are satisfying their personal whims and ambitions and who put off doing a lot of things and a lot of issues.

Every matter that has been set by life can and must be solved. Bureaucracy is the most serious of enemies if matters are put off and then build up and become problems. In my view, nevertheless, some positive processes have shaped up in the management of agriculture in our country and the main thing is that we have drawn the attention of people and the leaders of the farms and the rayons in some way to the fact that under a completely different system it is possible to run things better and with a small number of people. The main thing is the production and not the subsequent levels of a superstructural kind. You ask a question about the management system, whether it should be reduced or not. It is being cut down quite thoroughly in our country. Six ministries have now (?been involved). There was a 46 per cent reduction the first time. Now, in the oblasts, there is 40 percent and there is 50 percent, and in the republic a 30 percent reduction—that was last year. Now there is another round. It is impossible to run, say, an industry in a high-quality way while one is endlessly engaged in

mechanical reductions. We have to further improve our system. We have to develop initiative from below. And at the top we have to have something that nurtures and supports this initiative.

[Shvetsova] Whatever happens, without an apparatus one is not going to be able....

[Nikonov] There are also major matters of scientific and technical progress here which can only be solved at the level of the country. Links between the industries are also very important. Are the chairmen of kolkhozes going to seek the manufacture of an integrated tractor, to design it, and make a set of machinery for it in order to raise labor productivity by a factor of five? There have to be people to look after problems of scientific and technical progress (?if this involves) a second or a third industry. You cannot describe as bureaucrats people who are intelligent and who apply themselves well to their work simply because they....

[Shvetsova] Because they sit at desks.

[Nikonov] ...sit at desks and write.

[Shvetsova] Are you allergic to criticism? Do you distinguish between criticism from below and criticism from above? This is no doubt a question for every leader. It's difficult....

[Nikonov] If you're talking about criticism in the sense of a sober and realistic statement of what has arisen, of what's been done and what's not been done, and of how to solve the problems as quickly as possible, then like anyone else I think that Kirov's words here are no doubt the most fitting: Nobody loves criticism, either from above or from below. You have to take it in. When you have sufficient sense and willpower you control yourself when people argue over these matters. On the emotional level, of course, you sometimes think about the issue in a stormy and negative way. You become calm, and that's right. It is possible to do the right thing, having assessed everything, they say. I think that I am just the same as you. Everyone's the same.

[Shvetsova] I see it differently, for example: If you want to get results from someone, begin to give praise for the good things in him, and then say: Don't criticize in such severe terms. We are extremely fond of shouting at each other but....

[Nikonov] I agree with you that you can ofen do more with a kind word than with an angry, sharp word, but that does not mean that we have to assess, say, negative or extremely negative manifestations of whatever kind only from positions of kindness. Although I will say quite clearly that the principles of goodness and mercy are basic values.

[Shvetsova] Now already during restructuring some things are coming to light, for example, the interaction between lease-contractor and farm leader. What prompted me to ask such a question? The intensive labor collectives—a wonderful thing, aren't they? But, they say—let's take the same brothers Koshevoy or anyone else earning R15,000 per annum during a period of 5 years. Let's say by way of example that they buy everything that they need and they cannot then work at the same (?rate). another version of the same thing is that the person does not know what to buy with this money.

[Nikonov] The positive and the negative have always existed side by side in life and the struggle has proceeded with varying degrees of success, as they say. If we take lease-contracting, which we are propagandizing quite vigorously now and training people in, and if we examine it from a moral standpoint over and above the rest, then of course there are contradictions. We have said this: There must be payment in full for honest labor and this has to be earned by one's own labor. Lyudmila Pavlovna, I don't know anyone, either in our own country or in any capitalist state, who could become a millionaire as a peasant using his own, heavy, physical labor. In our country lease-contracting is built upon one's own labor, and no one has yet become a millionaire, so you've no need to worry. What's important for us now is something else. Lease-contractors, through a higher level of intensiveness and through the quality of their labor, have begun to have higher end results and they are entitled to higher pay—sometimes it is five or six times higher than they received in the past. For this pay one has to provide goods. Who are the people I have had occasion to meet recently? In Vyazemskiy rayon, Smolensk oblast, there is a forestry warden, Anatoliy Petrovich Sukhov living with his wife. In addition to his main profession he makes fodder and produces meat worth R20,000. He works under an agreement with the sovkhoz. What does he spend this money on? He has a fine house, a television set, and a car. He takes in five children from the children's home. Well, because there are no children in the family—they're already grown up—he takes them in. He is a wonderful man. What has he spent his money on in the past? He put the common grave into good order, he erected a monument, a magnificent one, with his own money. Now he is organizing cooperatives around himself. Morality [word indistinct] I don't know what you think, no doubt there is no one, say, who is absolutely indifferent to his means of existence, we all work.

[Shvetsova] There's no getting away from that. When a person is truly a working person his moral principles are always higher than those of the lazy individual.

[Nikonov] A person is a thing of value. The fact that cooperatives have made their appearance in our country in every period of restructuring, especially in such a complex one when all aspects of life have been involved....

[Shvetsova] What are we doing for the man of the land? What can we do for him to make him feel that the land is his own?

[Nikonov] One of the issues which will be drawn up in a special document and put forward for examination by the plenum is the social program for the development of our countryside. Considerable resources are now being made available for these purposes. Last year concerning the construction of housing and other facilities for culture, medicine, public health, and education, 28 percent of all resources allotted to agriculture in our country went on the resolution of social issues. We are now thinking of virtually doubling this sum in the next few years; and the volume of capital investment in agriculture generally will rise, but the social program is the first priority. Major decisions have been adopted for the construction of roads in the non-chernozem zone and throughout the country as a whole: Enormous forces have been brought in to do this. Decisions have been taken on the provision of gas supplies and a year ago, on electrification (?for domestic purposes) on a large scale. Throughout the country as a whole we are building between five and six apartments every year per kolkhoz and sovkhoz. In the non-chernozem zone this figure is between 10 and 11. What we need to build is 20-25 good, multistory homes and single-story homes providing literally everything the person needs. Appropriate housing for the countryside has to be created and projects of this kind have been worked out; they have virtually been implemented. In any oblast you can see well-built, excellently built, even, farm centers.

[Nikonov continues] Orel Oblast is undergoing some busy building work at the moment: 130 farms have been completely developed over a short period of time. Lipetsk Oblast is now the scene of some good building. Work has started in Voronezh, Rostov Oblast is doing a lot, and Stavropol is doing a great deal. They have begun to tackle these problems in Kalinin Oblast, and indeed over a short period of time, over the past 3 years, the volume of housing construction has risen by almost four times and road construction has risen by a factor of five. Kalinin Oblast alone is now building 1,200-1,300 kilometers per annum and the program is due to double in the near future. There are oblasts where they are still devoting far too little attention to these issues. And you ask what guarantees there are? The guarantee is the attitude of the leaders of the oblasts and rayons toward these problems because the money is being made available, not inconsiderable resources; and material resources are being allocated, but material resources can be diverted to other purposes. Then it is impossible to get everything from the center for the construction of the countryside—bricks can be made on the spot.

[Shvetsova] That is to say in principle we can solve the problem if the countryside is being developed, meaning that the leader there is a good one and is interested: If not, then it means that his attitude to the countryside is the same.

[Nikonov] The matter is this, that the time has now come for solving this great social program not part by part, but as an integrated whole. You can have housing—and we do have such cases, examples can now be given—where 40-50 houses have been built but where there is something missing for the individual.

[Shvetsova] A bath-house, for example?

[Nikonov] (?medical) center perhaps there's only a school for the first 4 years and the people don't stay. I want to give you the following example. The Druzhba Kolkhoz, Orichevskiy Rayon, the Kirov Oblast. Perhaps you have been there. On this kolkhoz—it was the most backward and neglected farm in the country, yet at the same time over a 5-Year Plan 19 apartments—not apartments but houses, good single-story houses, were unoccupied. There were two reasons: 30 km of roadway were missing and very often it was extremely difficult to get to the rayon center. There was a shop, there was a club, there was an excellent school, there was housing, but there was no one to turn to for medical assistance. Travelling to the rayon center meant 30 km without a proper road. Everything collapsed. The year before last when everything was put together and they did what was necessary to be done for this kolhoz, they ended up with a profit of R17,000 in 1986 for the first time. Although the sum was not a large one they were so overjoyed that they sent a telegram here to the Party Central Committee saying that the Druzhba Kolkhoz is now no longer a loss-making farm and that it had made a profit of R17,000. For a long time the people there did not hear a kind word about them. They were lagging behind, lagging behind, and all of this reflected in the mood of the people: When they are criticizing and nagging us endlessly, it's not simply a kolkhoz, it's people. Unfortunately there are still many kolkhozes in Kirov Oblast which are still in approximately the same kind of difficult situation. When we talk about loss-making and provide money and the loss-making grows and grows—we have 1,480 farms in approximately that same difficult position which are not connected to the roads and which are a long way away from a railway station or main route. They are in two books, by name, for each kolkhoz saying how it suffers and how it has to be helped. Our people constantly go there and wherever they find the opportunity—take the Antropovskiy Rayon in Kostroma Oblast, the whole rayon, completely, with the exception of one farm: Of 16 farms only one farm was functioning normally. Then they brought in roads, they built medical centers, they opened schools everywhere: The people came in and the whole rayon sprang back to life. There are another 8 rayons like that in Kostroma which are 200, 300 and 400 km....

[Shvetsova] Listening to you, what I like very much is that a leader knows the villages of Kostroma. One feels that you have a special liking for the countryside, as something that is close to you....

[Nikonov] I grew up not in the city but in the countryside. I've never talked to anyone about it and no doubt I shouldn't now—assessments change—we grew up without a father. My father died in 1932 during the period of sabotage on the Don. He was the first chairman of a kolkhoz, Kruzhilin farmstead, which is where Sholokhov was born.

[Shvetsova] Your father was chairman there?

[Nikonov] Yes, he was the first chairman of the kolkhoz there, then after party work he went as an authorized person. The kolkhoz broke up, they reorganized it, he was elected, we went there, then studies, party work once again, and then the tragedy. Very difficult years, I've spent my whole life working in agriculture. For the most part it has been party work. I am able to say that my party work is agriculture. Man is brought up by two beings: by the mother who gave him birth and by the land which feeds him, writes Makhtumkuli, the 18th century Turkmenian poet; and if a man's attitude is unworthy either to his mother, who is a woman, or to his mother which is the land, then he has no right to call himself a man.

[Shvetsova] Very fine words.

Ligachev Discusses Agrarian Issues With Scientists
LD0703235989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 7 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; announcer-read report]

[Text] Today Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev met with lecturers and research workers of the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee, who deal with agrarian questions. In the lively conversation the professors of the academy put forward, in connection with the forthcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum, their proposals regarding the problems of modern agrarian policy and the fulfillment of the food program. The subject of discussion was lessons in the development of the agriculture, restructuring economic relations, and scientific and technical progress in the countryside and its social reorganization.

Gorbachev Speeches on Agriculture Published
PM0703163189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Mar 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Improving Agro-Industrial Complex Management"]

[Text] The Political Literature Publishing House has published the book "Improving Agro-Industrial Complex Management. 13 January 1989 Conference at CPSU Central Committee". It includes the introductory and concluding speeches by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the speeches by the other participants in the conference, which examined ways of improving the management of the country's agro-industrial complex on a democratic basis under the conditions of the active development of new economic relations, production sharing, integration, and the universal assimilation of economic accountability.

The book has been drawn up on the basis of the conference proceedings.

Scientific

Space Experiments Continue on 'Mir' Complex
LD0703230889 Moscow TASS in English 1313 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 7 TASS—TASS correspondent reports from the flight control centre:

The Soviet orbital complex Mir has begun a new stage in mapping the celestial sphere in the ultraviolet part of the spectrum.

The crew used the glazar telescope on Tuesday [7 March] to film some regions in the Centaurus constellation.

Later on Tuesday, the cosmonauts will conduct a number of geophysical experiments to study the earth's atmosphere and will replace temperature-control system fans as their service life has ended.

In accordance with a programme of experiments in non-atmospheric astronomy, cosmonauts Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev and Valeriy Polyakov have carried out several more experiments using the Rentgen observatory.

On March 6 They observed an X-ray source—a binary system in a small magellanic cloud.

They have concluded a series of experiments, dubbed Maria, aimed, to determine possible a connection between the intensity of high-energy particle fluxes and seismic activity on the earth.

During a regular communication session, the crew sent their greetings to all women of the world on the international women's day on March 8.

Second Shift Starts Work at 'SP-30' Station
LD0703103189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0304 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] The second shift of polar workers has started work on the drifting scientific research station "SP-30". The collective of scientists is headed by Ippolitov, who has worked at both poles of the planet on several occasions. A wide-ranging complex of scientific research is being conducted at the station. The 45 researchers are to work here for more than a year. Operations are under way on the attached ice where the runway is located to lengthen

it. Until now only Il-14 aircraft have been landing on it, but now it is to take An-26's. Beginning this year polar workers on the drifting stations "SP-30" and "SP-31" are able to speak with their families and friends by radio and telephone for the first time.

Medical Aspects of Chernobyl Publicized

PM0603161189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 7

[Own correspondent N. Baklanov report: "Chernobyl: Facts Versus Rumors"]

[Text] A news conference devoted to medical aspects of the accident at the Chernobyl AES has been held at the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Health in Kiev.

The news conference was preceded by an event of considerable importance. The republic newspaper RADYANSKA UKRAINA had, in addition to a long report of the Extraordinary Standing Commission at the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, for the first time published a map of radioactive contamination covering several oblasts of the Ukraine which had been affected by the accident. The lifting of the veil of information previously inaccessible to the public at large also set the tone at the news conference itself. Yu. Spizhenko, Ukrainian SSR deputy minister of health, declared that on this occasion he is ready, together with other competent specialists, to answer any questions from journalists.

So what new facts did representatives of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences All-Union Scientific Center for Radiation Medicine and other authoritative medical workers and scientists reveal to the journalists? On the whole the information, which is based on broad and multifaceted research, is of a reassuring nature conducive to stabilizing public opinion. The Center for Radiation Medicine has, in cooperation with the republic Ministry of Health and taking into account international experience, elaborated a prognosis of possible medical consequences for those sections of the population which were subjected to the biggest doses of ionizing radiation. Screening has confirmed that there has been no increase in radiation-induced onco-hematological diseases and congenital abnormalities. Analysis of the research carried out indicates that the structure of the incidence of disease among adults and children continues to follow trends which are characteristic also in other parts of the republic. A slight increase in the incidence of cancer revealed in Narodichskiy Rayon, Zhitomir Oblast, is being attributed by the Kiev Scientific Research Institute of Oncology to the aging of the population and to careful medical checks being carried out on older citizens who were simply not subjected to screening before.

At the same time, according to the new criteria of radiation safety approved by the USSR Ministry of Health, the maximum doses received by a person in the course of his life must not exceed 35 rem. It has therefore been recommended that the inhabitants of three villages in Narodichskiy Rayon and two villages in Kiev Oblast's Polesskiy Rayon be moved to "cleaner" areas.

Rational and safe nutrition was also discussed at the news conference. Thus, it was announced that "clean" products continue to be delivered to certain rayons in Kiev and Zhitomir Oblasts. The medics' greatest cause for concern continues to be the milk produced in the private sector, which contains heightened amounts of radioactive substances. In a number of rayons restrictions on the consumption of this milk have been introduced.

Unfortunately, quite a few problems still beset the provision of medical services to people affected to varying degrees by the accident at Chernobyl AES. There are not enough doctors, special equipment, and hospital beds in the "contaminated" areas. However, the fact that this is being openly discussed is already something. It is a guarantee that the shortcomings which are evoking people's justified complaints will be dealt with as quickly as possible.

And finally a few words about the "secrecy" of the information relating to the Chernobyl events. The publication of the map of radioactive contamination in Ukrainian oblasts, just as the display at the news conference of a corresponding map of Kiev and of medical tables still veiled in secrecy, has shown convincingly that they contain no "terrible" data. And what is more, the specific information which manages to penetrate the still-extant veil of secrecy is helping to eliminate rumors which arise, as a rule, in the absence of reliable and exhaustive information.

Marchuk Gives Views on Restructuring in Science

PM0803102589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Mar 89 Second Edition p 3

[Article by G. Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, under the rubric "Candidate from the Party": "Foundation of Progress"]

[Text] Since the end of the sixties virtually all countries of the world have begun to experience mounting crisis phenomena caused by the depletion of the potential of the material production sphere's existing technological base. Untoward effects on the environment and on people's health have reached the limit. This has predetermined the start of a new stage of scientific and technical progress. The transition to qualitatively new technologies—all key elements of which would be based on a profound scientific analysis of man's interaction with nature and society—has become essential.

The task of acquiring new knowledge of a scope of sufficient depth and breadth for these transformations required a transition to a new type of development for science: away from individual breakthroughs which,

through applied research and development, were transformed into technical innovations or technologies and toward the planned accumulation of knowledge along the entire front of the basic salients of science. What was needed was the in-depth transformation of fundamental science with a fundamental increase in its cognitive potential and a change in the means of transferring knowledge to the production sphere. It is fundamental science which is the source of new phenomena and natural laws which generate revolutionary transformations in the economic and social life of society.

What is the state of affairs in Soviet fundamental science? For a long time we reassured ourselves with our own successes: We were the first to launch an artificial Earth satellite, the first to put a man in space, the first to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, and so forth. Exploiting for all it was worth the political significance of these scientific achievements, the existing administrative-edict system essentially began to boycott the development of science. Let's take a look at where this led.

Right now the situation differs fundamentally from the early sixties. At that time the number of scientific workers was growing an average of 7-8 percent a year while expenditure on scientific research was growing 10-12 percent, outstripping the national income growth rate by 50 percent. This made it possible to rapidly expand the front of research and to create reserves of completed work on virtually all the most important salients. By the late seventies and early eighties the reserves for extensive development had been exhausted. The scientific cadres increase rate declined several times over and on some salients by a factor of more than 10. The dynamics of the growth of expenditure on science came close to the declining dynamics of the growth of the national income.

The return on investment calculated per worker at the USSR Academy of Sciences and the republican academies is now approximately half that of the material production sphere, while in the developed capitalist countries the return on investment in science is twice as high as in industry. In cost terms Soviet researchers' provision with instruments is 4-5 times less than in the United States. If we express the cost of the scientific instruments used in fundamental research while taking into account their obsolescence and the relative prices of instruments, the result is that a scientific worker in the USSR is 10 times worse off than a Western researcher in terms of his provision with instruments. Matters are the same with regard to scientists' provision with information.

The residual approach toward resolving questions of equipping the modern experimental base of science still remains. In the period from 1983 through 1988 the construction of 130 establishments for the USSR Academy of Sciences and the union republics' academies of sciences costing about R2 billion was planned. But 2.3 times less in capital investments was earmarked for the 12th 5-Year Plan than the appropriations envisaged by the government decisions.

In the estimation of many scientists and specialists the level and dynamics of the development of fundamental scientific research in a number of important science sectors in the country today corresponds to the stage of the scientific and technical revolution which was accomplished in the world in the mid-seventies.

As in other spheres, many shortcomings in science are the expression and continuation of the contradictions in society's development which led it to a precrisis state.

In the sphere of science the principles of socialist morality were also eroded and group and personal interests began to dominate. The organizational structure came into contradiction with the logic of science's development and with specific features of scientific activity.

Monopolism in science and the rule of bureaucratic structures led to a sharp decline in the role of the scientific community as a self-developing and self-organizing system, as a source and zealous guardian of ethical norms. Various forms of exploitation of scientists' labor by administrators from science pursuing interests far removed from the search for scientific truth became widespread. The broad public had no effective opportunity to take part in shaping scientific policy.

The isolation of a number of fields of scientific research led to the point where science, objectively a special sphere of social activity, increasingly began to acquire the nature of a closed department with all its inherent negative qualities: orientation toward its own internal interests, standards, and criteria, bureaucratization, and the desire for extensive growth.

In a number of cases the planning of scientific research became an instrument for the reproduction of a structure of scientific avenues according with the interests of individual scientists connected with the leadership. Conservatism in the choice of subject matter, cadres stagnation, and discrimination against new scientific avenues were the inevitable consequence of this state of affairs.

As I have already said, the successes of Soviet fundamental science of the forties and fifties in resolving major theoretical problems and very important national economic tasks—successes which met with high international recognition—led to the creation of an atmosphere of complacency and uncritical assessments of the true state of affairs. As a result opportunities were lost in the prompt development of computer equipment, quantum electronics, laser technology, and biotechnology. The criteria were lowered for the state assessment of works awarded the USSR Lenin and State Prizes.

The need to eliminate disproportions in the development of the country's scientific and technical potential was realized even before. But under the conditions of the operation of the cost-based mechanism in the economy and in the social sphere, these problems were not successfully resolved. The planning organs did not attach due importance to the development of fundamental science and were oriented more toward foreign technologies and equipment. The current, immediate advantages to ministries and departments squeezed out the long-term strategic goals of scientific development.

Although academic science concentrates a substantial proportion of skilled scientific cadres and major scientists, it did not avoid the influence of conservative trends.

All this has led to the point where the return on the country's available scientific potential has declined drastically. In recent years the national economy has begun to experience a constantly mounting shortage of fundamental scientific results. Soviet specialists' lag behind the level of world science is acquiring a progressive nature and in the long term may cause a gradual reduction of the proportion of our participation in producing new scientific knowledge.

It cannot be said that in the past few years no steps have been taken to change the existing situation. Decisions have been taken aimed at overcoming the cadres stagnation and democratizing the internal life of the USSR Academy of Sciences branches and institutes. There has been a change in the procedure for planning and financing scientific research—from the financing of scientific institutions the first step has been taken toward ensuring direct support for specific projects and topics carried out by research collectives under conditions of competition and rivalry. Scientists' international scientific and technical cooperation has been activated.

At the same time there has so far been no fundamental advance. The measures which have been taken have often been of a compromise or palliative nature and have not eliminated the underlying causes for the crisis phenomena in science—causes which took shape over the many years of stagnation.

This situation can no longer be tolerated. It is giving rise to an urgent need for the more consistent and long-term restructuring of structural, investment, technical, and social policy in the sphere of science, that is the amalgam of factors which determine the level and potential for the effective use of scientific and technical progress and the activation of society's intellectual and spiritual potential. Restructuring should return to science its status as one of the most important motive forces of social development.

The principled line of restructuring in science should consist in the unity of underlying structural reforms and the democratization of all aspects of the life of the scientific community. Without this democratization the reform of science will inevitably degenerate into the redistribution of spheres of influence among existing groupings of scientists: Useful undertakings will be emasculated by the developed braking mechanisms.

The fundamental restructuring of the organization of science in the country should be aimed primarily at destroying dogmatic stereotypes and norms of conduct which have taken shape over recent decades: individual or group monopoly of scientific truth, intolerance toward other people's views and concepts and toward bold creative quest. World experience shows that success in the development of science is ensured by creating organizational and legal conditions for the coexistence and rivalry of different scientific schools and avenues, by developing scientific discussions, and effectively defending the creative activity of scientists and scientific collectives. Rivalry between different organizations and groups of scientists working on similar subjects should be an essential condition of scientific activity and should be envisaged by procedures for planning and financing scientific programs.

The need to combine real and sufficiently rapid advances in scientific development with a solicitous attitude toward existing productive scientific institutions makes the optimum approach for the next two 5-year plans that approach which can be formulated as the creation of seats for new organizational structures with a new technological base. Conditions must be created for the effective use of the material resources necessary to scientists and ties with the world scientific community must be expanded.

What is needed is a system of measures aimed at gradually transforming the strictly centralized structure of fundamental science which has taken shape in the country into a modern, flexible structure.

In this connection there must be a sharp increase in the diversity of types of scientific research organizations and institutions. As the USSR Academy of Sciences general meeting noted, the network of scientific organizations must acquire a mobility enabling it to react adequately to the emergence of new functions in the structure of scientific activity. Alongside major institutes, small autonomous research organizations, temporary scientific collectives, instrument centers, information analysis centers, data banks with information networks, consultative firms, and other types of scientific and organizational structures should be created which will have the necessary mobility and sufficient autonomy.

The main link in the organization of science should be the research collective organized to work on a specific problem. The collective is formed as a rule around a scientist or group of like-minded scientists, which makes it the most productive form of organization. It is the collective and the demands made on it which should be the main targets for financing.

This organizational restructuring should be accompanied by an increase in the diversity of sources and means of financing scientific research. Monopolism in science can be eradicated by the broad discussion of scientific workers and by granting scientific collectives a real opportunity for recourse to alternative sources of financing.

The granting of subsidies, on a competitive basis, directly to a scientific collective to conduct research on a specific theme should take a specific share of financing. To implement flexible financing it is expedient to provide for the creation of various specialized funds, possibly by organizing a special credit bank of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The first step in this direction has already been taken—by a decision of the academy presidium a special fund has been formed to support young scientists, for which substantial funds have been earmarked.

It is essential to have a network of economically accountable centers with no staff research personnel which can lease to any organizations or individuals laboratory premises, basic equipment, and instrument time, and a network of centers where measures can be made on the necessary equipment in return for payment. Many of the tasks of backing up scientific activity can be effectively performed by scientific and technical cooperatives.

The time has come to substantially update the USSR Academy of Sciences charter, bringing it into line with the radical changes which have taken place and are continuing to take place in the country and in the activity of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The charter should ensure the development of the processes of democratization and the humanization of academic science with a consideration for its specific features and functions and should help to improve the social, economic, and legal conditions for free research.

In the process of restructuring in science there should be a fundamental review of the principles of material incentives for the labor of scientists and of all social policy in the scientific sphere. It is essential to boost the public prestige and social and material status of scientific workers, which has declined markedly in recent decades, and to ensure a constant influx of talented young people into science.

In this connection it is essential to take steps to sharply increase the channels for the renewal of scientific cadres and to facilitate the process of the natural alteration of the scientist's activity over the course of his life's career. World experience attests that science is effective where a scientist can easily transfer from research work to teaching, from the generation of knowledge to its dissemination, to the conceptual consideration of whole layers of scientific knowledge.

This requires the strengthening of the link between science and the higher school. On the basis of the experience we already have, it is expedient to examine the possibilities for creating scientific training associations which are as integrated as possible and which include universities and institutions of the Academy of Sciences.

It is also essential to consider measures which would promote the dynamic transfer of cadres both within science itself and also from science to the production sphere. For that it is necessary to make broader use of the competition and contract system and other progressive forms for enlisting talented workers to the solution of specific tasks of scientific and technical progress.

Ensuring scientists' social protection is an important element in improving cadres policy. In particular the system of remuneration of scientists engaged in fundamental research and the existing pension provisions in science and scientific services need to be reviewed.

The creation of a new public organization—a creative union of scientists—could greatly promote the further development of democratic traditions in the scientific community and the enhancement of scientists' civic responsibility and initiative.

An important link in restructuring science is the provision of scientific workers with the necessary material and technical and information resources. Retooling and the creation of conditions for the continuous renewal of the material base of science are a fundamental task without whose solution it is impossible to bring scientists' labor productivity up to the modern level. The world pace of scientific and technical progress makes it pointless to maintain laboratories in which this minimum cannot be maintained.

It is essential to "revive" the existing technical base, altering the organization of the use of scientific equipment (for instance, using unique accelerators, reactors, and telescopes to create national research centers and a network of instrument centers for collective use with the 24-hour a day use of devices in short supply).

In this connection it is necessary to implement a package of measures for the qualitative renewal of the potential of fundamental research. Fundamental science should acquire a top state priority, cease to be supplied among "other" consumers, and compete with other sectors for resources.

This provision is of fundamental importance. Fundamental science is the intellectual component of every production sector—a component which is small in terms of expenditure but is vitally important and which should be of the size objectively necessary for its viability. On condition that effective use is made of the country's common resources, it would be not only necessary but also economically more advantageous to rapidly increase

expenditure on fundamental science several times over and not to increase investments gradually, failing to achieve the "critical mass" essential for its self development. This process has already begun—in 1989 academic science has been allocated over R400 million more for retooling.

I would like to mention one more feature of the restructuring of fundamental science. The renunciation of the administrative-edict system, the implementation of economic and political reforms, the creation of a rule-of-law state, and the elaboration of a real policy are impossible without constantly enlisting the scientific community as an inalienable component of the political process.

Today the importance of fundamental research in the field of the social sciences is growing more than ever.

Society as it renews itself today is in need of a genuine boost to the social sciences and of a humanitarian culture while the social sciences need a renewed culture of methodological thinking.

The task of social scientists is to elaborate the scientific concept of modern socialism and to outline positive guidelines determining the ways and means of bringing social practice close to socialist ideals.

Under the conditions of our entry into the period of something fundamentally new and unknown—when old structures and processes are being broken down and new not yet encountered institutions are being formed—political and economic decisions become particularly crucial. And here scientific appraisal, which should become an inalienable element of scientific activity, can render inestimable assistance.

The broad enlistment of the scientific community to the process of decision taking, in addition to the fulfillment of its basic—strictly scientific—function, can and must become a powerful instrument for the democratization, humanization, and intellectualization of our society. Above all this applies to educating the broad strata of the population, who must be acquainted with scientists' assessments and recommendations through the mass media.

It is essential to exclude the existing practice whereby various organizations and departments, including the Academy of Sciences, have been enlisted to appraise scientific programs or particular large-scale national economic projects only after their implementation.

Experts should not act as representatives of organizations but in their personal capacity, guaranteeing the objectivity of the assessment of their own scientific reputation. The successes of science and the development of the national economy both depend on the reliability and quality of expert assessments. That is why expert appraisal requires the utmost responsibility and considerable expenditure of time and resources.

It would be useful to have attached to the USSR Academy of Sciences a forecasting and analysis center whose main task would be to organize multiple-aspect analysis, expert appraisal, and forecasts for the most topical questions of economic, political, sociocultural, and scientific and technical development, and the solution of ecological, demographic, and other problems of statewide importance.

The pooling of the efforts of the scientific and creative intelligentsia and the consolidation of the country's intellectual potential to resolve urgent problems of restructuring are acquiring special importance. Scientific and cultural and theoretical club-seminars uniting the most authoritative scientists and figures of culture could become an effective form of this cooperation. The aim of these creative associations should be to discuss ways and forms of joint work by figures of science and culture and the enhancement of their role in backing up the restructuring processes and shaping public opinion.

A distinguishing feature of the modern development of fundamental research is its international nature. Right now national science's involvement in world science is a very important factor in shaping new scientific avenues and building up cognitive potential.

From this viewpoint our international scientific and technical policy is in need of substantial revision. Its most important aim should be considered to be the expansion and deepening of scientific ties with the world scientific community.

It is essential to use not only traditional forms and methods of this work—on-the-job training stints, protracted scientific assignments, and participation in conferences—but also to work under contracts or on a grant in leading foreign research centers and to extend similar invitations to foreign specialists to our scientific institutions, as was the case in the twenties and thirties.

Broad opportunities for using the achievements of world science can be offered by the organization of temporary and permanent international research collectives, for which favorable working conditions must be created.

An active international scientific and technical policy will provide an opportunity to assert equal partnership in the international division of scientific and technical labor.

I must dwell on the criticism which has been leveled recently against the Academy of Sciences and its leadership both from the pages of our press and from the academy's scientific workers. This criticism applied to the system of organizing scientific research, the administration of institutes and laboratories, and, to a substantial degree, to the procedure for considering the opinion of scientific collectives during the nomination of candidate people's deputies from the USSR Academy of Sciences. Not everything in this criticism is of equal

status but we must recognize that there is undoubtedly something to discuss. And that is not surprising. The political process is deepening and increasingly broad strata of the population, including scientific workers, are being drawn into political and social restructuring in the country. Some mistakes are also inevitable on this path. It is important that the USSR Academy of Sciences leadership in conjunction with the broad scientific public should be ready to analyze the developing processes and seek ways of overcoming the problems which arise. We are sure that the power of the people which is taking shape in the country will lend new impetus to the improvement of all our organizational structures, including the Academy of Sciences and the revelation of its creative powers in the solution of the most important problems of society as it is being renewed.

My profound conviction is that Soviet science has every opportunity to scale the most progressive heights of world scientific knowledge. The socialist nature of our society, the existence of a large number of scientists of exceptional intellectual and creative power, and the inextricable link between science and our culture form the favorable basis on which the process of our society's renewal will develop and the economy and social sphere will be perfected.

Military

Yazov Addresses Conference on Military Construction

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Report by Colonel L. Nechayuk: "New Economic Management Methods for Construction Projects: USSR Defense Ministry Holds Conference With Leaders of Military Construction Organizations"]

[Text] In 1988, military construction workers commissioned a large number of different projects and built 65,000 apartments and dozens of buildings, canteens, stores, schools, and medical and preschool institutions. A considerable volume of work was carried out. Yet many of the shortcomings of past years are still persisting. They include: violations of normative construction deadlines, poor-quality construction work, poor economic indicators, and a number of loss-making construction organizations and enterprises. One-third of directorates of chiefs of works finished the year with losses, while half failed to meet the target for profit growth. Deadlines for commissioning a number of projects were not met. In many cases the plans were met because of rush work and crash programs.

All this shows that there has been no radical improvement in the activity of military construction organizations and enterprises. They transferred to full economic accountability and self-financing on 1 January this year. This requires the leaders of military construction organizations, directorates, and enterprises and all military construction workers to determinedly reject the old methods and stereotypes. There must be a sharp improvement in the standard of organizational, political, educational, and economic work and discipline. The ways and means of resolving these tasks were discussed at a conference held on 27-28 February in the Defense Ministry with the chiefs of military construction directorates and organizations. For the first time in the practice of this kind of conference, the chiefs of the directorates of chiefs of works took part.

The following presented reports at the conference: Colonel General N.V. Chekov, USSR deputy defense minister responsible for construction and billeting of troops; Colonel General N.S. Kovalenko, chief of the political directorate of military construction units; Colonel General V.N. Babyev, chief of the USSR Defense Ministry Central Finance Directorate; and Lieutenant General of Justice B.S. Popov, chief military prosecutor. The following took part in the discussion of the reports: Major General A.K. Sharikov, deputy commander of Odessa Military District responsible for construction and billeting of troops; Colonel Yu.V. Chumachenko, chief of the Northern Fleet Construction Directorate; Lieutenant Colonel V.M. Kovalev and Lieutenant Colonel V.V. Chernomorchenko, chiefs of directorates of the chiefs of works; and others.

The conference was addressed by Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister. He noted that the Armed Forces are playing an active part in the statewide processes common to all the people: political reform, the election campaign, and the restructuring of economic management and the administrative system. This is setting major political and organizational tasks for military cadres, including those cadres responsible for capital construction in the Army and the Navy.

The task of urgently establishing economic methods of ensuring high end results by intensifying the entire construction process and decisively improving quality indicators in the activity of military construction organizations, directorates, and enterprises is becoming increasingly relevant in connection with a whole series of factors. Primarily in connection with the following: implementing the USSR's enterprising measures to effect a unilateral reduction of 500,000 personnel in the Soviet Armed Forces; completing the withdrawal of our troops from Afghanistan in line with the Geneva agreements adopted on the Soviet Union's initiative; and carrying out a considerable volume of construction work to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake in Armenia. All this requires really efficient work from military construction personnel.

Despite the relatively long preparation for the switch to the new economic management conditions, military construction personnel have been unable to eliminate their losses and improve the financial situation of their organizations and enterprises, 40 percent of which are still failing to generate a profit. The causes of this lie in

imperfections in planning and organizing production, a low level of economic thinking, and the inability of many construction leaders to work boldly and with initiative—in the spirit of restructuring and in the spirit of the time.

Problems and shortcomings have been building up for years in capital construction. Obviously they cannot be resolved in an instant. What is needed is responsible, creative, enterprising work by command-political cadres, engineering and technical workers, and party organizations. Full use must be made of military construction collectives' potential and of the enormous opportunities for enhancing people's political and labor activeness that are being opened up by democratization and glasnost.

Military construction workers have no objective reasons for unprofitable, loss-making work. All of today's negative phenomena and the preconditions for interruptions in the construction flow are rooted in incompetence, bad organization, carelessness, and an inability to work in the new way, on the basis of economic methods. Mismanagement is still tolerated in the use of material and technical resources. Construction machinery and equipment is used on a single-shift basis, as a rule, and is often left standing idle. Any equipment out of action is neglected. Construction materials are also put to poor use. Superfluous stocks of goods and material values considerably in excess of the established normatives are often allowed to accumulate. There are major hiccups in the planning of construction organizations' and enterprises' work. The phenomenon known as "never-ending construction" is still widespread, and the volume of unfinished construction work is growing.

The collective contract is helping to improve the efficiency and quality of construction work. However, as a result of the formal approach to its establishment in many construction organizations using this new economic management method, the situation has not improved. Some of the main reasons for this are bad organization of production and of material and technical supply and an intolerable increase in wages out of proportion to the increase in labor productivity. Military construction workers are still a long way from introducing the lease contract.

The end results must become the main indicators in military construction work. It is with this in mind that the switch to the new procedure for financing and planning capital construction must be organized and implemented. This work must also proceed from the fact that military construction workers' main task this year is housing construction. The volume of this type of work will constantly increase from now on.

Sectoral science and military scientists have still not become really involved in improving capital construction. There is an urgent need to review the relationship between research and design organizations and construction workers and their responsibility for projects' quality. They often work in isolation from real life. The inertia of smugness and complacency must be broken. Restructuring is into its fourth year, but many people are still waiting for instructions and hoping that someone will come along and organize the solution of practical tasks for them.

The cardinal strengthening of discipline and law and order in military construction units has fundamental significance. The number of transgressions has recently been slightly reduced. There has been no cardinal improvement, however, in military and labor discipline or in the strengthening of law and order in units and subunits. Oversights and shortcomings are particularly common here—mainly because the majority of chiefs of directorates of the chiefs of work have essentially dissociated themselves from this highly important, key area of work. They practice the principle of "the plan at all costs," inherited from the stagnation era, and consequently turn a blind eye to the lack of order and flagrant breaches of safety regulations. It is no coincidence that the level of accidents among military construction workers still remains high.

Right now the struggle against breaches of statutory relations and law and order is not specific, persistent, or purposeful. The main point is that this work still does not focus on the individual, with his interests, needs, and concerns. There have been no substantial improvements in the organization of military construction workers' catering facilities, clothing and medical provision, and bath house, laundry, and trade services, and their leisure and cultural recreation are really badly organized. There must be a radical change of attitude to the social aspects of military construction workers' life and activity and to the provision of facilities in military camps. All this is the responsibility of political command cadres, but it is the responsibility of the chiefs of the directorates of the chiefs of work first and foremost. The health of the military organism of subordinate units and the moral climate in military construction collectives depend on them. Consequently, exacting, principled demands must be made of them.

The speeches by the conference participants raised specific issues and offered suggestions designed to raise every aspect of military construction workers' life and activity to a new qualitative level. It was decided to create a broad commission led by Army General K.A. Kochetov, USSR first deputy defense minister, to carefully examine and analyze these proposals.

The conference was addressed by Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy. The USSR deputy defense ministers, chiefs of the USSR Defense Ministry's main and central directorates, and senior officials from the CPSU Central Committee and AUCCTU took part in its work.

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